

ial

Issues in Applied Linguistics

Volume 7 Number 1 • June 1996

SPECIAL ISSUE

PROCEEDINGS FROM THE FIRST UCLA CONFERENCE ON
LANGUAGE, INTERACTION, AND CULTURE

ARTICLES

Socializing Anxiety through Narrative: A Case Study
Lisa Capps

Lawyers' Work in the Menendez Brothers' Murder Trial
Stacy Burns

Spatial Distribution and Participation in British Contemporary Musical Performances
Wendy Fonarow

Negotiating Price in an African American Beauty Salon
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Aspect: A Linguistic Device to Convey Temporal Sequences in Discourse
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Joint Attention in a Father-Child-Mother Triad: A Chinese-American Case Study
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Syncretic Practice: Change and Maintenance of the Samoan/Samoan American 'ā/huh
Jennifer Reynolds

(continued on back cover)

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Issues in Applied Linguistics is published twice a year by the graduate students of the Department of TESL & Applied Linguistics at UCLA.

The views expressed in the journal are not necessarily those of the Editors, the UCLA Department of TESL & Applied Linguistics, or the Regents of the University of California.

IAL is printed at Lue's Printers: Los Angeles, California.

Partial funding for *IAL* is provided by the UCLA Graduate Students Association.

IAL is abstracted in *Linguistics and Learning Behavior Abstracts (LLBA)* and on *Comserve*, and is listed in the *MLA International Bibliography*.

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Editorial

Language, Interaction, and Culture

This edition of *Issues in Applied Linguistics* is dedicated to the proceedings of the First UCLA Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture. As *ial* turns increasingly toward the interdisciplinary study of language, this set of articles brings together representative work from the fields of anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology as well as applied linguistics. Utilizing diverse methodologies to investigate varied social contexts, these articles are united by their focus on the fundamental relationship between language, interaction, and culture. By publishing these proceedings we aim to continue and extend the dialogue—between scholars and across disciplines—that the conference engendered.

As presented here, the articles reflect the conference's organization—around analytic themes rather than disciplinary boundaries. The first session, "Communicating Medical Troubles," is represented here by Lisa Capps' article "Socializing Anxiety through Narrative: A Case Study." Capps looks at the interactional foundations of agoraphobia, which has been conventionally understood as a clinical disorder located in an individual's mind. Her study of narratives within ordinary family settings illustrates the potential for using close analyses of talk and interaction to better understand the social foundations of psychological conditions. Two additional articles comprised this session but do not appear here: Jeffrey D. Robinson's "Talk and Body Deployment in Medical Interaction I: Arriving at Medical Troubles" and Elizabeth Boyd's "'Can you tell me something about this little baby?': Initial Requests for Information and the Construction of Patient Histories during Medical Peer Reviews."

The day's second session "Negotiating Competence and Authority" included articles by Stacy Burns, Wendy Fonarow, Lanita Jacobs-Huey, and Geoffrey Raymond. Burns' article "Lawyers' work in the Menendez brothers' murder trial" shows that in the course of effectively questioning witnesses lawyers often depart from—and even violate—textbook rules for courtroom interaction. Fonarow's article "Spatial Distribution and Participation in British Contemporary Musical Performance" also addresses the normative regulation of interaction. Having conducted fieldwork in England, Fonarow analyzes crowd behavior at independent music performances, examining the interactive achievement of "fanship." Jacobs-Huey's article "Negotiating Price in an African American Beauty Salon" highlights strategies used by a hairdresser and her clients to agree on a hairstyle that will accommodate both the stylist's

professional judgments and the client's personal preferences. A fourth article, Raymond's "The Voice of Authority: Sequence and Turn Design in Live News Broadcasts" does not appear in this volume.

As the title of the third session "From Grammar to Cultural Practice" suggests, the analysis of particles can yield a greater understanding of the cultural organization of interaction. Benjamin Wang's article, "Aspect: A Linguistic Device to Convey Temporal Sequences in Discourse" examines a particle, *-guo*, traditionally analyzed by linguists at the sentence level. Wang shows how participants use this particle in naturally occurring discourse to direct interlocutors' attention to narrative boundaries. Kylie Hsu's "Joint Attention in a Father-Child-Mother Triad: A Chinese-American Case Study" also examines the role of grammatical particles, demonstrating how affective morphology is used in family activities in one Chinese-American home. Jennifer Reynold's article, "Syncretic Practice: Change and Maintenance of the Samoan/Samoan American '*ā* / *huh*'" presents a comparative approach in the analysis of the particles '*ā*' and *huh*' as used in Western Samoa and a Samoan American community in Los Angeles. Reynolds employs linguistic and ethnographic methods to link micro phenomena with cultural continuity and change.

The fourth session and theme represented in this volume, "Interactions in School Settings," is perhaps the most familiar to applied linguists. However, the three articles in this section diverge from the traditional focus on the learning of language to investigate the language of learning. In the article, "The Social Construction of Mathematical Knowledge: Presented Problems in Mathematics Classrooms," Lynda Stone shows how variations in teaching styles potentially foster opportunities for students' participation in the demonstration of mathematical proofs. Joanne Larson's article, "The Participation Framework as a Mediating Tool in Kindergarten Journal Writing Activity" examines the learning process as a collaborative activity. She illustrates how one kindergartner's written journal entry is accomplished through the complex relationships between contingent talk and formal instruction at a table of novice writers. Betsy Rymes' article, "'Friends aren't friends, homes': A Working Vocabulary for Referring to Rolldogs and *Chuchos*," examines an interaction among students at the margins of a school classroom. Her analysis uncovers how these students use alternative words for 'friend' to identify with one another even as they voice fundamental differences between their world views.

In his introduction to the conference, Alessandro Duranti addressed himself as much to the presenters as to the audience. These opening remarks are included here. In them, Duranti likened the process of preparing and presenting a paper to the way that jazz musicians initially conceive a tune, refine it in the course of practice with their mentors and peers, and, finally, perform it before an audience. In retrospect, the metaphor seems especially apt. While familiar themes motivate and organize these articles, the authors explore new ways of articulating these themes and assessing their continued relevance. It is our hope

that this publication captures some of the dynamism of this first UCLA conference and provides motivation for further variations on the themes of language, interaction, and culture.

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June, 1996

Introduction to the CLIC Conference, May 19, 1995¹

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Coltrane would say, "Hey, Curtis, try to play this on the trombone," and I would try to run something down. I'd struggle with it and he'd say, "You're getting it"—and so on and so on. Paul Chambers lived all the way in Brooklyn, and he would get in the subway and, gig or no gig, he would come over to practice. He got this thing from Koussevitsky—the Polonaise in D minor—and he'd say "Hey Curtis, Let's play this one." It wasn't written as a duet, but we would run that down together for three or four hours. A couple of days later, we'd come back and play it again. The whole thing was just so beautiful.²

There is the satisfaction of seeing someone pick up an instrument and making it sound a bit like you and then a little different, until it acquires a flavor of its own, a quality that is only vaguely reminiscent of what the teacher said or would have said. There is the satisfaction of giving someone the floor and sitting down not to wonder about whether he or she will be able to pull it off but to actually enjoy the show. There is the tension of the moment of performance, when everyone knows that the players know their stuff and some of the tunes are old ones, but everyone wants to know how they will play them. There is the expectation that some familiar phrases will have to acquire a life of their own. These and many more thoughts are in my mind today, as we kick off our first UCLA Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture. A Conference completely organized by our graduate students.

As Manny Schegloff reminded us a few weeks ago when we got together in Malibu to think about the Center for Language, Interaction, and Culture, the idea of the Center was in a sense really the students' idea. Not in the sense of thinking out the name. Not in the sense of knowing how to go to the Deans and ask for support. Not in the sense of writing up memos and convincing our colleagues that this is worth attention and we should get new positions in areas that could make the Center stronger. But in the most fundamental sense of a community of human resources, made up first of all by the people on campus who share intellectual goals. It was students who first discovered that it was possible to make links across departments and get faculty together who shared a vision of language—to borrow Toni Morrison's words—as a measure of our lives. Today we see the beginning of the process whereby a virtual community

turns into a reality.

The Center for Language, Interaction, and Culture brings together faculty and students from the Departments of TESL & Applied Linguistics, Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology, the Graduate School of Education, and the Cesar Chavez Center for Chicana/o Studies. What unites us is a vision of the study of language that includes but goes beyond the exchange of information, that includes but goes beyond the closed discourse of academia and tries to connect our hypotheses to the lives of people who can be considered worthy of study—even though in some cases they might not be statistically significant or in some other cases they might not live in far and exotic places but, instead, quite close to us, just a few more freeway exits down south or east.

Is what we want to do a discipline? This will be decided by others. But this is how I see it. I think that a discipline should exist only in so far as it helps its practitioners uncover uncharted intellectual territories and make new analytical connections between phenomena that had long been in front of their eyes, close to their ears, and next to their body, but could not be adequately seen, heard, or felt. A discipline should be a domain of discourse that allows for the exchange of visions that would not be possible elsewhere. It should also be a mixture of tradition and innovation, a realm of frequent social encounters where those who have been around for a longer time do not need to bend their standards in order to welcome newcomers and the latter should feel free to question the work of their teachers and to entertain new research agendas. A discipline should be judged for the past that lies behind as much as for the future that is ahead.

The past is in the many occasions when the Center faculty have gathered together, read each other's papers, commented on each other's ideas, and been inspired to try out some new hypothesis. The past is also in the many committees where we have come together to coach a student and to see our separate conversations blended into one stream of thought. The past is whatever we have done that can be seen as still worthy of reading or discussing or rejecting or improving. The future is here. The future is in the pieces you will play. Don't worry about the wrong notes. The trick is not to avoid them, but to make them sound right. That's how new tunes get written.

NOTES

¹ This is the text, as delivered, of Professor Duranti's introduction to the day's events.

² Curtis Fuller, quoted in *Thinking in Jazz* by Paul Berliner, p. 39.

REFERENCE

- Berliner, P. F. (1994). *Thinking in jazz: The infinite art of improvisation*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Socializing Anxiety through Narrative: A Case Study

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This paper examines the socialization of anxiety based on analyses of narrative interactions between an agoraphobic woman ("Meg"), her husband, son, and daughter, who has been diagnosed with separation anxiety. Agoraphobia is characterized by irrational fear of panic, feelings of helplessness, and avoidance of situations outside the home. Although children of agoraphobic parents are at risk for developing anxiety, little is known about the socialization process. Analyses of storytelling interactions in the Logan family suggest that anxiety may be socialized in the children as 1) Meg portrays herself or others as protagonists helpless in a world spinning out of control; 2) the children re-enact Meg's portrayals of anxious moments; 3) children offer solutions to anxiety-ridden scenarios that are rejected as ineffective; 4) the children portray themselves as unable to control or explain their own and others' emotions and actions; and 5) the children's portrayals of themselves as successful agents are undermined by subsequent narrative contributions.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines language practices involved in socializing anxiety based on analysis of storytelling interactions between an agoraphobic woman and her children. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV, 1994) characterizes agoraphobia as "irrational fear of being in a place where it may be difficult to escape should one panic or develop other potentially incapacitating or extremely embarrassing symptoms." The term agoraphobia means "fear of open spaces," but the disorder entails fear of being any place where one might feel alone and vulnerable to panic. A central feature of agoraphobia is avoidance in response to this fear. Agoraphobic persons often describe feeling trapped by an ever present threat of panic and their belief that they cannot risk leaving safe havens such as home.

Research has shown that children of anxious parents are at heightened risk for developing anxiety: They are seven times more likely to be diagnosed with anxiety than children of non-anxious parents (Breslau, Davis, & Prabucki, 1987; Leckman, Weissman, Merikangas, et al., 1984; Turner, Beidel, & Costello, 1987; Weissman, 1993). Children of agoraphobic parents appear to be most

vulnerable (Casat, 1988). In my dissertation comparing 16 school aged children of agoraphobic mothers and 16 children of non-anxious mothers, for example, 67 percent of the children of agoraphobic parents were diagnosed with an anxiety disorder, whereas this was not the case among the children of any of the non-anxious mothers (Capps, Sigman, Sena, Henker, & Whalen, in press). Similarly, in another study Silverman and her colleagues found that 71 percent of a sample of school aged children of agoraphobic mothers suffered from an anxiety disorder (Silverman, Cerny, Nelles, & Burke, 1988).

Although these studies show that children of anxious parents are more likely to be anxious, they don't tell us *how* anxiety is transmitted in families. Various models have been proposed. Although genetics clearly play a role (e.g., Weissman, 1993), additional factors are involved. Research on identical twins, for instance, has shown that usually one twin of an anxious parent develops anxiety while the other does not, and when both twins do become anxious, they do not share the same disorder (Torgersen, 1983). Further, knowing that there is a genetic component does not specify what is passed on or how it happens. Physiological studies suggest that children of anxious parents may inherit physiological predispositions that render them vulnerable to anxiety, such as heightened physiological arousal (Beidel, 1991; Turner, Beidel, & Epstein, 1991).

Although surprisingly little research has focused on environmental influences that might exacerbate or ameliorate these processes, there has been considerable speculation. One hypothesis is that agoraphobic parents model a cautious, fearful stance and that children somehow pick up this stance (Rosenbaum et al., 1994). A variation on this view suggests that children observe their agoraphobic parents avoid fearful situations and that the children adopt the tendency to respond to fear through avoidance, which eventually results in a host of fears and anxieties. This perspective is supported by a study finding positive correlations between the number of situations agoraphobic parents avoid and the severity of their children's anxiety (Silverman et al., 1988). Another hypothesis is that interacting with an agoraphobic parent who feels out of control and uses avoidance to cope undermines the child's sense of control, generating feelings of helplessness (Barlow, 1988; 1990). Additional evidence suggests that children of agoraphobic parents perceive various risk conditions to be less controllable than do comparison children of nonanxious mothers (Capps et al., in press).

Psychoanalytic models propose a dynamic in which agoraphobic parents depend on their children to alleviate their fears of being alone. According to this model children are socialized into caregiving roles in which they assure their parents that they will not become autonomous and leave, which creates conflict in children as they grow older and face situations that require separation from parents (Bacciagaluppi, 1985; Bowlby, 1973). In support of this theory, the rate of separation anxiety among children of agoraphobic parents is very high—not only higher than that among children of non-anxious parents (Capps et al., in

press) but also higher among children of parents with other anxiety disorders (Casat, 1988).

Each of these models of anxiety transmission is supported by research that relies on structured diagnostic interviews and true-false or multiple choice questionnaires. Responses to these questions are used to identify characteristics of anxious parents and their children, and the relationships among these characteristics. In this sense, traditional psychological research looks *through* language to get at underlying dynamics, not *at* language. Despite the fact that these questionnaires are called "All About Me" (Kovacs, 1983) and "What I Think and Feel" (Reynolds & Richmond, 1978), they are insufficient tools for understanding the experience and socialization of anxiety.

The present project is based on the following premises: 1) Understanding the socialization of anxiety in families requires observation of children and parents interacting in naturalistic settings, looking at language, not through it; 2) Language is the greatest human resource for constructing and socializing emotions, actions, and identities and no language practice has more impact in this direction than storytelling (Bruner, 1990; Feldman, 1989; Heath, 1982, 1983; Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, & Mintz, 1990; Miller & Sperry, 1988; Nelson, 1989; Ochs & Taylor, 1992, 1994; Schieffelin, 1990); 3) When we tell stories with children we socialize them into particular, enduring ways of creating themselves. Storytelling interactions not only influence the children's interpretations of past events, they socialize ways of "doing language" that construct enduring self-portraits and world views. In the words of Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison, "We die. That may be the meaning of life. But we do language. That may be the measure of our lives. . . Narrative is radical, creating us at the very moment it is being created" (1994, p. 22).

METHODOLOGY

This socialization study is part of a larger project carried out by Capps and Ochs (see Capps & Ochs, 1995a, 1995b) involving 36 months of video- and audio-recorded participant observations and interviews in the home of an agoraphobic woman we refer to as "Meg Logan"; her husband, "William"; eleven-year-old daughter, "Beth"; and five-year-old son, "Sean." At the time of this study, Meg had not left a two mile radius of her house for the previous six years. In addition, Beth was diagnosed with separation anxiety disorder. The present analyses are drawn from a corpus of 53 narratives, 17 of which were told during family dinners, and 36 during conversations with Meg and Beth.

SOCIALIZING HELPLESSNESS

At the heart of agoraphobia is a sense of fear, helplessness, and the absence of control. Despite Meg's desire to spare her children her suffering, her interactions with them may socialize these emotions when: 1) Meg portrays herself or others as helpless protagonists in a world spinning out of control; 2) The children enact, complete, or repeat Meg's portrayals of anxious moments; 3) The children offer solutions to anxiety-ridden scenarios which are then rejected as ineffective; 4) The children portray themselves as unable to control or explain their own and others' emotions and actions and Meg's responses affirms or augment these portrayals; 5) The children's portrayals of themselves as successful agents are undermined by subsequent narrative contributions.

Meg frequently introduces narratives about being overwhelmed by uncontrollable fears and anxieties. In the telling, it seems that these emotions are not contained in the past, but continue to plague her. Meg, like all of us, relates narratives about situations that provoke these emotions in an effort to regain control by obtaining validation for her emotional responses. That is, if others ratify her construction of danger, they provide a warrant for her distressing emotions, rendering them normal and less overwhelming.

The following excerpt comes from a story about Meg's encounter with two menacing pit bulls during a routine visit to her father-in-law's house, near her own home.¹

- (1.1) Meg: Oh my gosh I- I was standing there talking to your dad
by the back wa:ll
and I just happened to remember these do:gs.
(.6)
I looked over the wall and this do:g,
it came AT me.
(.3)
I mean thank God it was atTAched- to the ↑chain.
But I went EEYO::W
and I jumped back off the tree stump.

In reporting this incident, Meg displays her distress, flinging her arms above her head to intensify her sense that she is off balance and out of control. Such storytelling moments socialize anxiety by modeling uncontrollable emotional responses to life events.

Anxiety may also be socialized as Beth and Sean are drawn into anxious scenarios. When Meg tells stories of anxious experiences she recruits her spouse's and her children's participation by directing her gaze, body, and utterances toward them (cf. Goodwin, 1981). In so doing she solicits validation for her perception of uncontrollable danger in the world. While she seems most eager for validation from her spouse, in general Meg's children are far more responsive to her tales. They gaze more consistently at her during the course of the storytelling, they answer her questions, provide consistent, often escalated

assessments of the events, and they display empathy with her narrated predicaments.

The following sequence takes place after Meg claims that pit bulls are not pets, but are barbaric beasts who threaten the safety of everyone in the neighborhood and should be outlawed. This excerpt shows how Meg's children closely attend to her description of her response to the advancing dogs.

- (1.2) Meg: ((*leaning forward, looking at Sean*))
 Pit bulls have been known to atTack and kill people
 (.4)
 They're so st- they have such stro::ng ja::ws
 ((*frames mouth with hands, juts out chin*))
 Sean: ((*juts out lower jaw*))
 Meg: that if they (.2) attack somebody they could just=
 Beth: =ONE bite that's just about all it would take.
 Meg: Yea:h ((*vertical head shakes*))

Here we see Meg leaning forward toward Sean, speaking slowly and deliberately. Sean is mesmerized by her dramatic rendition of the pit bulls' strong jaws, and mimics her re-enactment: When she frames her mouth with her hands and moves her jaws back and forth, he opens his mouth and juts out his chin.

In addition, when Meg hypothesizes about the consequences if the dogs attack, Beth is moved to complete her mother's utterance, asserting "One bite, that's just about all it would take." This seamless collaboration is made possible in part by Meg's beginning an "if-then" format ("If they attack...") which has a projectable grammatical structure and is therefore open to completion by another speaker. As Lerner (1991; see also Sacks, 1992) notes, collaborative completions are an especially effective way of *demonstrating* shared understanding and co-authorship of an utterance. This exchange exemplifies how the children engage in the process of building uncontrollable worlds in which menaces roam free, with the intent to destroy anybody who might cross their path—including those present at the table.

Indeed, the children not only help build, but narratively inhabit this potentially lethal terrain. Beth, for example, inserts herself into the perilous pit bull scenario after Meg states that neighbors fear for their grandchildren's safety:

- (1.3) Meg: Well Frank and Ruth=
 Beth: =I'D put them in a shelter=
 Meg: =don't want to let their grandchildren in the back yard
 because if this dog ever got ↑loose ((*looks at Beth*))
 Beth: ((*vertical head nods*))
 Meg: it could just
 (.6)
 ((5 lines of transcript omitted))
 Meg: This is a resi↑DENtial area.
 It isn't just some-
 Beth: Yeah and the neighbors have grandkids too.
 And- what ↑if (.2) you know WE: come over.
 We're BAppa's grandkids.
 Will: Well stay away from the fence.

In this excerpt Beth augments Meg's assertion that the dogs pose a threat to (grand)children by identifying *herself* as a likely victim.

In addition to amplifying Meg's perspective, Beth and Sean attempt to assuage narrated anxiety by offering solutions. In the previous example, Beth pipes up with a solution, saying she'd put the pit bulls in a shelter. This suggestion is ignored. In the following example, Beth and Sean offer another solution.

- (1.4) Meg: I couldn't help but wonder what would happen if (.2)
you know (.4)
((looks down at her food, scratches the top of her head))
Will: They'd be in big trouble
Meg: if he really did get into your dad's yard.
Beth: I'd call the pound.
Sean: Me too
Meg: Well [the problem is] *((looks at Beth))*
Sean: [to come get him
Meg: [you can't report them
[*((looks at William))*
until they actually harm somebody
((looks at Beth))
but by then its too late.
Sean: *((looks at William))*
Will: Yeah.

In proposing solutions, Beth and Sean attempt to display that they are capable of handling such problems. However, Meg and William undermine the children's sense of control, both by negating the efficacy of the children as agents and by reinforcing the inevitability of harm.

These excerpts illuminate *how* anxiety might be socialized as children participate in the telling of past problems that kindle present anxieties about future experiences. And the children, compelled to offer solutions that might stave off mounting distress, become further mired in insoluble predicaments.

We now shift our focus to interactions in which Beth portrays herself as unable to explain her emotions and behavior in an effort to illuminate another way in which anxiety might be socialized in the Logan family. The following excerpts are taken from audio-taped conversations with Beth and Meg in which I asked them to talk about meaningful experiences. In these interviews, Beth's stories often parallel Meg's accounts of distressing events. Previous analyses of Meg's narratives of panic experience delineate a set of grammatical constructions that Meg routinely uses to build a portrait of herself as helpless and out of control (Capps & Ochs, 1995a; 1995b). In narrating panic, Meg consistently depicts anxious moments as coming on "all of a sudden," or "unaccountably," constructing such negative emotional experiences as inexplicable and therefore unavoidable. Beth appropriates a similar set of grammatical resources when she describes emotionally significant events. Specifically, Beth uses "for some reason" and "just" to portray herself as carrying out actions and experiencing

emotions without reason. In narrating seeing a boy who had a shaved head, Beth comments:

- (2) Beth: For some reason,
It just scared me.

Similarly, in describing one of her baby dolls Beth recalls:

- (3.1) Beth: I- for some reason I would like love her for a while
Lisa: Uh huh
Beth: and then I'd get mad at her.
(45 lines of transcript omitted)
Beth: But it was the only doll I ever really hated.
Lisa: Do you remember why you hated her?
Beth: No.
I'd just get mad at her.
I'd go 'SHUT UP!' 'BE QUIET!'
And I'd shake her.
I'd just go 'BE QUIET!' 'BE QUIET!'

In addition to Beth's appropriation of some of the grammatical resources Meg uses in building a portrait of herself as helplessness, anxiety may be socialized through interactions between Meg and Beth. In narrating past events, Beth often poses questions about why she behaved or felt as she did.² Meg's subsequent narrative contributions may socialize feelings of helplessness by attributing these distressing actions and emotions to enduring psychological traits. This is the case, for example, in the unfolding narrative about Beth's doll:

- (3.2) Beth: I'd get annoyed with her when company left.
And I'd just go OOH!
Meg: I didn't know you had these sadistic tendencies.
(12 lines of transcript omitted)
Meg: Well I think it was a good thing you had her.
(3)
If you had a baby ↑sister or something.
You might have beaten up on her instead.

In this narrative Meg responds to Beth's search for an explanation by attributing her behavior to an enduring character trait, the expression of which is both inevitable and transferable to more devastating scenarios.

In addition to portraying her own emotions and actions as inexplicable, Beth often portrays herself as the innocent victim of others' actions and emotions. In many such cases Meg and Beth collaboratively solicit an explanation and propose a generic or inalterable reason for the aggressor's conduct. In telling a story about being bullied by a girl at school, for example, Meg and Beth co-construct a rationale for the girl's behavior.

- (4.1) Beth: You know I come to school and it's like the first week
Lisa: Umhm
Beth: and this girl starts bothering me.
I don't know why.

- Meg: Hmm.
I wond-
(5 lines text omitted))
- Meg: I wonder why she seemed to take such a-
- Beth: When she- she would stop singing she would look at me,
(4 lines text omitted))
- Meg: Didn't you wonder why she was being so mean to ↑you
when you hadn't done any↑thing
- Beth: I know.
(.4)
It's just like my existence bothered her.
- Meg: Umhm (.2)
Maybe she was a little bit jealous of you.
- Beth: I don't know
(.4)
She's older, right.
- Beth: She was like one-
No, no she's in sixth.
- Meg: Is she?
- Beth: She looks much older though.
She looks like she's in seventh or eighth.
Maybe she was held back.
- Meg: Now that could be.
- Beth: I think she just had her thirteenth birthday too.
(.3)
So she's a little older.
Maybe she was held back.
That could make her especially sensitive or uh
(.3) you know-
- Beth: Yeah.
- Meg: To think that somebody is doing better than her.
- Beth: Yeah.
- Meg: And you're just a sixth grader,
and you maybe could sing better or whatever,
or you're more popular.
I mean that could be pretty threatening to somebody.
(.5)
- Beth: Hmm.
- Meg: I don't think it was anything you did.
It was just
being me.
- Meg: [Yeah.
- Beth: [Oh gosh ((softly)).

In this narrative of Beth's victimization, Meg elicits reasons from Beth (e.g., "I wond- I wonder why...?"). Similarly, Meg suggests that Beth must be wondering why she was receiving such treatment (e.g., "Didn't you wonder why she was being so mean to ↑you"). And Beth also poses such questions to herself and Meg (e.g., "I don't know why..."). In response to these queries, Meg and Beth collaboratively identify enduring circumstances that might make the girl unhappy (Beth is younger, perhaps more popular, and/or a better singer; the girl may have been held back), and determine that Beth did nothing to incite the girl's obnoxious behavior. This sequence is likely to undermine Beth's sense of control by simultaneously marking the importance of knowing why one has been victimized and concluding "it was nothing you did," and that there is

nothing that can be done because the distressing situation is attributable to traits or conditions that persist. This narrative framing renders Beth innocent yet helpless.

Finally, anxiety may be socialized when the children portray themselves as exerting control over challenging circumstances, and these self portraits are undermined by subsequent narrative contributions. We have seen how Beth and Sean attempted to exert control in the pit bull story by providing solutions to the problem—either calling the shelter or the pound—the first of which was ignored, and the second rejected. Similarly, when Beth frames herself as a capable agent in a distressing situation, Meg frequently reframes these narrated events in ways that undermine Beth's control.

Meg may undermine Beth's portrayal of herself as gaining control over threatening circumstances by reframing such circumstances as not at all or less threatening. For example, when Beth describes getting help after being attacked by a bully who "bites, kicks, scratches and punches," Meg asserts that he "does not bite," then deems such attacks rare, and goes on to provide counter examples of the bully's sociability.

Additionally, in the story below, about Autumn the Alto, Beth recounts how she confronted this bully, and solicited the Vice Principal's help in handling the situation. But Meg reframes the scenario, attributing resolution of the problem to the Vice Principal's agency and portraying Beth as culpable, along with the bully:

- (4.2) Beth: I'd just say, I can't take it.
 Stop BOTHERING me.
 Finally I had to take it to the vice principal,
 Lisa: Umhm
 Beth: And he had to have a talk with her.
 Meg: Actually he had you both in there talking.

This reformulation undermines Beth's attempt to construct herself as a capable protagonist who is beyond reproach and in control of the situation. Further, Meg's reformulation renders Beth as a somewhat unreliable narrator.

In conclusion, these narrative interactions illuminate *how* anxiety might be socialized in one family. In their roles as protagonists and co-tellers, Beth and Sean participate in storytelling interactions that may socialize anxiety: sometimes by validating Meg's recurrent assertions that distress is a fundamental property of life, sometimes by searching for solutions which are subsequently rejected, sometimes by offering up for family approbation parallel portrayals of themselves as victims of indiscriminate actions and uncontrollable emotions, and sometimes by offering portrayals of themselves as competent problem-solvers, only to find themselves recast as not truly in control of the situation.

Meg's contributions to stories are likely designed to protect her children from future devastation in the face of uncontrollable negative experiences—experiences she deems inevitable. Yet these storytelling interactions may unwittingly undermine the children's sense of control by implying that even if

they overcame a particular trial, their actions and emotions and those of others in the world cannot be controlled. Furthermore, such interactions socialize the psychological and communicative resources that perpetuate these identities and world views, resources that children draw on in creating themselves long after the stories end. Whether these observations apply to the socialization of anxiety more generally remains open to investigation, but the method used is reproducible to that end. This study points to the importance of looking *at* language, not *through* it, to understand the perpetuation of psychological conditions.

NOTES

¹ Following Jefferson (1974), this paper's transcription notation uses the following symbols: Brackets denote the onset of simultaneous and/or overlapping utterances; equal signs indicate contiguous utterances, in which the second is latched onto the first; pauses within the stream of talk are timed in tenths of a second and inserted in parentheses; short untimed pauses within utterances are indicated by a dash; one or more colons represent an extension of the sound or syllable it follows; underlining indicates emphasis; capital letters indicate loudness; arrows indicate rising and falling intonation; audible aspirations (hhh) and inhalations (.hhh) are inserted where they occur; and details of the conversational scene or various characterizations of the talk are italicized and inserted in double parentheses.

² While Beth's apparent desire to determine why she behaved and felt as she did may be interpreted in association with Meg's preoccupation with inexplicable actions and emotions it is important to emphasize that the present excerpts are taken from interviews in which I was present. Interviews are themselves interactions with their own organization and relevances (Baker, 1982; Suchman & Jordan, 1990). Particularly, because I identified myself as a clinical psychologist, it may be that some of Beth's apparent concern over "why?" is more generally characteristic of laypersons'/trainees' accounts of their own experiences when speaking to relative experts. That is, the demand characteristics of the interview situation may have significantly influenced the family interactions captured on tape.

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Lawyers' Work in the Menendez Brothers' Murder Trial

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This research addresses the interactional work by which lawyers interrogate witnesses at trial. In particular, the study examines some videotaped segments of interrogation interchange in the first Menendez brothers' murder trial and analyzes lawyer's work in attempting the impeachment of an adverse witness. The paper finds a lived orderliness of the courtroom that resides in the locally organized material detail of real-time interrogation interchange and practices.

INTRODUCTION

This study presents some materials from the first Menendez brothers' murder trial. In this research, I am trying to find a way of studying and describing a particular domain of phenomena which is the lived orderliness of everyday activities, in this case of trial lawyer's work. Significant promise for locating this orderliness is demonstrated in the ground-breaking studies and findings of ethnomethodology and conversational analysis (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1992; Heritage and Drew, 1992).

I want to propose that there is the possibility of discovering a courtroom order that resides nowhere else than in the practically organized and locally witnessable detail of real-time interrogation interchange between lawyers and witnesses in court. That means that we want to examine legal interaction and courtroom interrogation as phenomena of interest in their own right, starting with their everyday appearances. We will try to specify some of what is essential about the work in its own terms, rather than beginning with an *a priori* sociological concept and using it as a resource with which to describe the phenomena in terms of topics of conventional sociological significance.

For example, we could describe the generalized roles of the lawyer and witness in court in terms of power imbalances or attempt to evaluate lawyer competency and performance. These have traditionally been the focus of conventional sociological analyses of legal settings. However, classic sociological methods and conventional analytic approaches, whatever their bent, have largely ignored the profound orderliness of everyday activities as members

know them by formulating this orderliness in the abstract analytic terms of something else.

In contrast, I am out to explain courtroom interrogation in terms of its own material content—that is, before it is transformed into some conventional rendering. I want to direct our attention to the contingent features and local work of courtroom participants in getting through just this real worldly course of questioning this particular witness, right here, right now, in just this courtroom, with just this judge and jury.

The focus of this talk is on some instances of lawyers' work in the Menendez brothers' murder trial. Specifically, we will be looking at lawyers doing work at trial in an attempt to impeach a witness who is testifying on cross examination. That is, the lawyer is trying to show the jury that the testifying witness, at least with respect to some particular point of impeachment, cannot be believed.¹ What I noticed at first glance is that, whether it be the cross examination work we will be exploring today, or writing an appellate brief, or arguing a matter in law and motion, etc., lawyers' work is never done in general, in theory, in principle or in the abstract. Instead, it is always directed to the particular legal problem just then confronting the attorney. That means that for the cross examiner, cross examination always concerns just this issue, relating to just this testimony or pending question, within just this course of questioning, directed to just this witness, with just this specific relationship to the parties, within just this litigation. For trial counsel, such work in large measure is done spontaneously and improvisationally, "on his feet," without relief or time out to think. And, it is work not done in general, but unavoidably *in detail*.

It is apparent in looking at trial work by lawyers that, characteristically, it does *not* occur smoothly and rarely happens without impediment. Indeed, adversaries routinely interpose a variety of obstacles in the way of what the opposing side is trying to accomplish. Cross examination exchanges between counsel and an adverse witness provide a perspicuous setting in which to get a clear view of the practical problems and obstacles encountered by lawyers at work.

For this reason, I looked at lawyers doing cross examinations. That is, I looked at counsel interrogating witnesses who were first called by the other side—these are witnesses who typically are *not* inclined to cooperate with the examiner because they are for some reason adverse to his client or case, or because they want to establish a view of the evidence which opposes that endorsed by the examiner, ETC.² These are often witnesses who are recognizable as evasive, biased, inconsistent, antagonistic, refusing to concede the obvious, exaggerating, ETC.

The data analyzed in this study comes from televised coverage provided by a local cable station of the first Menendez brothers' murder trial which took place in Los Angeles criminal court from July 20, 1993 through December 15, 1993.

The episodes presented in this article were specifically selected as significant because they provoked understanding of the tactics used in cross examination.

The Menendez brothers were charged with first degree murder in connection with the August 1989 shotgun killings of their parents, Jose Menendez (a wealthy entertainment executive) and his wife, Kitty Menendez. At the time of the killings, which occurred in the family's posh Beverly Hills home, Lyle Menendez was 21 years old and Eric Menendez was 18 years old. Prior to trial, the defendants had confessed to committing patricide, but contended that the homicides were justified because they were acting in self defense following years of physical and emotional abuse by both of their parents and sexual abuse by their father.

In view of the sensational facts of this trial, a word of caution is in order. As Emanuel Schegloff warns, "[t]here is a danger in dealing with dramatic material...'[I]nteresting' very often means vernacularly, and not technically, interesting [and] it may be felt that dramatic occurrences cannot be understood by reference to mundane considerations" (Schegloff, 1988-9, pp. 216-217). This paper endeavors to examine two episodes from the "special" event of the first Menendez brothers' murder trial through "mundane-colored glasses" and tries "to turn a topically transient occurrence into a source of longer lasting analytic resources" (Ibid., p. 218).

THE EPISODES

The first of the two episodes I will discuss I have called "Do I have personal knowledge of any such cases?" This cross examination is somewhat unique because it involves the testimony of a lawyer who has been called as a legal expert witness by the defense. That is, he is a legal expert witness retained by the defense, which has already called him on direct examination to testify on their behalf.³

It is interesting in the practice of law that one thing you immediately notice about almost any adverse expert witness is that they are distinctly problematic and uncooperative witnesses on cross examination. Such experts have absolutely no difficulty in answering any question posed to them by the side which pays them and calls them to testify on direct examination. Indeed, during direct examination they may give every question a favorable spin and even answer a not-so-great question in a way which makes it look good. However, when the opposing side begins its cross examination, these experts suddenly have an extreme amount of trouble making any sense at all out of what is being asked by even the simplest question. Apparently, their expertise includes the interactional ability to *not* facilitate the questioning or assist the cross examiner in any way.

Episode One: "Do I Have Personal Knowledge of Any Such Cases?"⁴

P = the prosecutor
 D = the defense counsel
 W = the witness
 J = the judge

- P: Now you're aware of the fact, are you not, that there are published opINions (.3) in books such as the one that the judge showed you (.8) where (1.0) defendants use a child abuse defense in order to justify their actions in a homicide case. (.4)
 Are you aware of that?
 (1.0) ((W looks to judge))
- D: Yur honor I'm gonna object this is beyond the scope.
 (1.0)
- J: Overruled.
- W: Do I have personal knowledge of of any such cases or do I believe such cases exist.
 P: Well
 (.3)
- W: or do I think it would be possible that such a case (.3) Could exist?
- P: Well (3.0) ((laughter from courtroom; W smiles)) Do you think it's pa-((laughter from courtroom and P)) hah -do you thing it's pa-no do you KNow that such cases exist?
 (2.2)
- W: I don't have personal knowledge of any such case no.

What we see in this first episode is a witness who is simply not going to straightforwardly answer the question which is posed to him. But, not only that. We noted that this witness is a legal expert witness, i.e., a lawyer, and as a lawyer, he has been trained to monitor ongoing interrogations by opposing counsel so as to be able to recognize and display how a particular question is somehow technically faulted through valid and defensible legal objections. Thus, we see this witness as not only reluctant to assist the examiner in any way (as with most adverse experts), but we also see that he is willing to use the full resources of his technical legal expertise to jump all over a question and throw every possible legal obstacle in the way of the questioner before he will proceed to answer. The witness challenges the examiner to be more legally precise in her questioning and we are thereby led by the witness to find multiple ambiguities in the examiner's question, which at a first non-technical hearing were not all that apparent or obvious.

A little background information to set up this episode is in order. At this point in the trial, another witness, defendant Lyle Menendez's former girlfriend, has already testified (harmfully to the defense) that while Lyle was in jail, he asked her to go to the law library and copy certain published legal cases for him. The former girlfriend further testified that when she looked at the legal opinions Lyle asked her to copy, she noticed that they all involved defendants who "got off" of a murder charge after asserting a child abuse defense. The damaging inference of this testimony was that Lyle was working on fabricating a child abuse defense in order to "get off" in this case. The legal expert in the above episode has been called by the defense on direct examination to refute this inference. Specifically, the witness has been called to attest to the fact that if indeed the defendants in those cases had "gotten off" (that is, been acquitted of

murder at trial) then there would be *no* published appellate opinion on the case since the bar of double jeopardy would have applied and there could have been no appeal. (The State cannot appeal if it loses a criminal prosecution and only appellate decisions result in published opinions).

In Episode One, the question is asked of the defense legal expert witness, "You are aware of the fact, are you not, that there are published cases where defendants use a child abuse defense to justify their actions in a homicide case?..." There is about a one second pause during which the witness looks to the judge, perhaps suggesting that the question implicates his impending intervention. An objection is then made by Eric Menendez's defense counsel, perhaps prompted by the witness' delay, that the question is "beyond the scope" of direct examination. For our purposes, however, it only matters that the judge overrules the objection to the pending question. So, at this point it appears that the witness must answer the question.

I have called this episode "Do I have personal knowledge of any such cases?" because what happens next is that the witness does *not* answer the question, but instead asks this and other questions in response.⁵ That is, the witness questions the question being asked. Of course, in failing to promptly and directly answer the question as posed, the witness renders the examiner's question to be problematic.⁶

The witness' response articulates how he believes the question to be legally improper as ambiguous by showing it to be susceptible to at least three alternative interpretations. The witness responds, "Do I have personal knowledge of any such cases or do I believe such cases exist...or do I think it would be possible that such a case Could exist?" It is notable that, by his response, the witness demonstrates the material grounds and validity for his own "objection" to the question, namely that it is vague and ambiguous.

The response of the witness to the question specifies counsel's inquiry as one regarding the witness' "awareness." That is, whether the witness' awareness is based on his "personal" knowledge of such cases or because he "believes" they exist or because he "thinks it possible" that such a case "could" exist. One may wonder whether the distinctions suggested by the purported ambiguity are of any real significance—after all, what difference would it make to a jury how the witness is aware of such cases if he is in fact aware of them? Moreover, at least according to the examiner's question, the witness was just shown such a case by the judge, which "fact" is left unaddressed by the witness whose response does not contest that aspect of the examiner's question.

The real import of the asserted ambiguity may be in its effect as a challenge to the precision of the examining attorney's question. In other words, if the cross examining attorney thinks she is going to get a straight answer out of this expert witness, she has now been put on notice that she is not, unless she asks a very precise question. The interactionally achieved insertion sequence likely occurs more as a real-time demonstration of the "hostility" of the witness, rather than because the witness does not understand or is unable to answer the

purportedly ambiguous question as posed. This proposal is supported by the structure of the response itself which includes a belated third ground to support that the question is ambiguous, "Or, do I think it would be possible that such a case could exist?"

Examining counsel appears to concede that the witness has effectively parried her question. There is a lack of immediate uptake by the interrogating attorney which is marked on the video record by a smile from the witness. Laughter is heard from the courtroom and the prosecutor joins a bit in the laughter. The prosecutor then hesitatingly rephrases her question and indeed twice appears to have opted for the witness' third alternative, "do I think its possible that such a case could exist?" as follows:

"Well (3.0) ((laughter from the courtroom; W smiles)) Do you think it's pa-
((laughter from courtroom and P)) hah -do you think it's pa-..."

The witness' response has thus demonstrated the question to be ambiguous and forced the examining counsel to rephrase it. In effect, the examiner's ultimate rephrasing of the initial question ("...do you KNow that such cases exist?") turns out to be not substantially different from her original "objectionable" phrasing ("you're aware...that there are published opINions").

After a notable silence, the witness repeats the frame of his previous "clarification" of the initially faulted question and responds, "I don't have personal knowledge of any such case no."

The second episode we will view today I have named "I don't recall the exact date." I gave the episode this name because it involves some substantial waffling by the witness about a crucial time when she claims she had a conversation with defendant Eric Menendez.

A little background about this episode is required. The episode calls into question testimony given by the former girlfriend of defendant Lyle Menendez, the same witness whose testimony was the subject of the expert witness cross examination in the preceding episode. The questioning concerns a conversation the witness stated she had with Eric Menendez, long before the parents' killings, about a hairpiece that his older brother Lyle wore. The line of cross examination challenges the witness' direct testimony to the effect that she had discussed Lyle's hairpiece with Eric months before the homicides. If true, this would prove that Eric knew about his brother's hairpiece long before the time he testified he first learned about it. In other words, the current witness' testimony indicates that Eric lied when he testified that he did not know about his brothers' hairpiece until just prior to the parents' killings and that learning about the hairpiece when he did was a triggering event in the series of events which he testified immediately led up to the killings. The defense version of the facts was that when Eric Menendez saw his mother Kitty pull the toupee off the head of his brother Lyle days before the killings, his sudden awareness of his brother's vulnerability and embarrassment freed Eric to confess to Lyle his own "dirty

secret" that their father Jose Menendez had been sexually abusing him for the past twelve years.

Because Eric Menendez already testified that he did not know about his brother's hairpiece until just a few days before his parents' killings, the former girlfriend's account of when the purported conversation with Eric about the hairpiece occurred is central to Eric's credibility and hence to the believability of the entire defense case. Obviously, if in fact Eric Menendez already knew about his brother Lyle's hairpiece long before he claimed he first learned about it, his account about how and why the homicides happened would be substantially undermined.

A series of questions concerning when the alleged conversation between the witness and Eric took place thus become the focus of this cross examination of the now adverse former girlfriend and are critical if Eric's attorney is to discredit the adverse witness. It is quite notable that in response to the attorney's several questions regarding when the alleged conversation occurred, the witness repeatedly answers, "I don't recall the *exact* date." With this response in hand, the lawyer's task is thus posed.

Episode Two: "I Don't Recall the Exact Date"

P = the prosecutor
D = the defense counsel
W = the witness
J = the judge

- D: Now tell me about this time where you claim to have had this conversation with Eric Menendez. When did you get to the house on what day of the week?
(2.5)
- W: It was a long time ago I do not (.3) remember (.5) the exact Dates.
- D: Well you ha- you don't even remember the month, is that right (2.0) Is that right?
- W: I am I told you I do not remember the exact dates of when I I visited the Menendez' many times. I' was very [long time ago.
- D: [WE're only
talking about this one time Ms. Pisarcik and is it Your
testimony now that you don't remember the MONth (.3) that you
were there.
(3.0)
- W: It is my testimony that I (.8) y' know don't remember the exact date.
- D: I'm not asking you for the exact date. D' ya know the difference between an exact date such as (.3) November twenty-third nineteen ninety three and the MONTH, such as (.2) NOVember.
- W: Yes.
- P: Objection [argumentative move to strike.
- D: [Okay
- J: Overruled.
- D: Do you remember the MONTH
- W: I remember approximately the time (.2) I was out there.
- D: Oka:y, let's try that. What's your approximate time now
- W: Well as I sss- when I stated yesterday it could have been in the spring, it could have been A-uh (.2) I: don't know? January, February, March, April,
- D: May? June? July? August.
- W: No it was not that late.
(slight laughter in courtroom))
(.5)

- D: So it uh c' could've been anywhere from January through April, is that what you're saying?
- W: It could have been.
- D: Well haven't we already demonstrated that it couldn't have been March or April, the spring.
- W: Y = (.3) Yes ((you have))
- P: =objection argumentative your honor calls for a conclusion.
- J: Sustained, the answer is stricken
- D: Are you SATisfied that it couldn't have been (.2) the spring now.
- P: Same objection your honor.
- J: Overruled.
- W: I don't know,
(3.0)
- D: So tell me what you were doing on the day that you say you had this conversation with Eric Menendez. (.8) What were you doing?
- W: I was talking to Eric.
- D: Before-eh the whole day?
- W: H'huh I don't remember
- D: Did you wake up talking to Eric?
- W: No I did not=
- D: =Did you go to Slee:p talking to Eric?=
P: =Objection argumentative.
- J: Overruled.
(1.2)
- W: No,
- D: And what'd ya do the rest of the Day.
- W: I'h don't re:call, it was a long time ago.
- D: Okay You don't have to tell us it was a long time ago each time we can count. Why [don't you just tell me
- P: [((Excuse me)) Your honor I move to strike counsel's comment.
- J: Ahright the ans-er the remark is stricken just ask another question please.
- D: Why don't you tell me what you did (.3) at other times on that same day.
- W: I don't. (.5) Remember.
- D: What were you DOing (.2) in ERic's (.3) room (.3) that day.
- W: I was not In Eric's room,
- D: Where were you.
- W: I was in the doorway
- D: And what were you doing in the Doorway to [Eric's room.
- W: [I sstopped by to say Hi:, I was (.5) in the house and stopped by to say hi,
[Why were you in the house.
- W: [to Eric
(1.0)
- I was visiting.
- D: Wa-when you visited did you always stay inside the house.
- W: Well I had to sle:ep somewhere.
- D: You didn't SLeee:p inside the house you slept in the guesthouse, isn't that true.
- W: True:;
- D: You slept in the guesthouse with LY:le.
- W: Correct.
- D: So you weren't in the house 'cuz you were sleeping, is that correct?
- W: We:uh I was invited into the Menendez home[to spend time.
[Did someone
invite you into the house just before you had this conversation with Eric?
(4.0)

The examiner's line of questioning in this episode is designed to call into doubt the precision and reliability of the witness' memory as to when the alleged conversation occurred and to thereby challenge the witness' credibility and the veracity of her claim that she in fact had the conversation which is impugning of Eric's credibility. The examining lawyer here first tries to establish when the alleged conversation with Eric Menendez occurred. The witness might prefer that her "I don't recall" answers would serve to preclude further inquiry and terminate the line of questioning on this matter (cf. Drew, 1992).

However, the efficacious examiner in this episode does not let that happen. Instead, counsel persists with her line of questioning so as to evoke from the witness a whole series of things that the witness "does not recall" about the alleged conversation and the circumstances surrounding it. Thus, rather than the witness' "I don't recall" response serving to block further inquiry, through the work of the competent lawyer it actually becomes a vehicle for the examiner to advance the defense position and to display the witness to be unbelievable because of all the things that she "does not recall."

In this episode, counsel does not allow the witness any leeway to slightly reinterpret the questions or to answer them in any loose kind of way. For example, when the examiner asks the witness "the Month" when the alleged conversation occurred, the witness repeatedly responds that she "doesn't remember the exact date." But counsel will not let the witness answer the question on her own terms and insists instead, "I'm not asking you for an EXACT date. Do you know the difference between an exact date, such as November 23rd, 1993 and the MONTH, such as NOVEMBER?"

Following this, the witness concedes a bit and says "I remember the approximate time I was out there." Counsel then adopts the witness' own phraseology, playing off of what is at hand to earmark the uncertainty of the testimony with a somewhat argumentative "Ok, let's try that. What's your approximate time now?" The witness responds, "I don't know. January, February, March, April." It is through the use of the temporal reference "now" that the lawyer implies that the witness' present testimony may be different from an earlier account and thus that it may not be credible. Counsel then magnifies the witness' uncertainty in what we might describe to be a hearably mimicking and mocking tempo with, "May? June? July? August."

Relatedly, after the witness fails to provide the date when she arrived at the Menendez house, counsel then queries, "Well you don't even remember the month, is that right?" When the witness fails to respond to this query after a couple of seconds, counsel insists on a response by repeating her tag question, "Is that right?"

To paraphrase the phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "the truth withstands unending exploration" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 324). Adversatively, counsel in this data tries to show that this witness' story cannot withstand exploration. Over the course of the interchange, counsel demonstrates that not only does the witness not recall the exact date of the conversation, but

also that she does not even know what month or the time of year it happened, what she did the rest of that day, what she was doing inside the house at the time, or any of the other pertinent circumstances surrounding the alleged conversation. Ultimately, the examiner shows that the only thing the witness in fact "does recall" is that little fragment of conversation which impugns Eric Menendez' credibility.

This episode is an excellent example of an aggressive cross examination. It has been said that trial is a contact sport and counsel here does not hesitate to make an open show of disbelief of the witness' statements or of her hostility toward the witness. In this regard, do not think for a minute, that trial lawyers go into court and comport themselves in strict compliance with the rules and procedures of court and that they will not get up and do what they know they should not be doing. Rather, what you often find instead is actually at the opposite extreme: attorneys going into court, knowing absolutely what the court rules are, knowing just where the lines of proper courtroom conduct are drawn, and yet crossing those lines with all kinds of adversarial intent, so as to feel out the opponent, the witness, or the judge and learn just how much they can get away with in advocating their case. This suggests that the student of lawyers' work cannot look solely to the formal evidentiary rules or court procedures to tell them what makes for an effective lawyer in court.

In particular, the attorney in this episode uses the line of questioning to publicly attack both the credibility and reputation of the witness with some severe mudslinging. The examining attorney is already aware that the Menendez home also includes a guest house, which is where Lyle Menendez lived at the time of the relevant events and where the witness stayed when she visited the Menendez home. It is likely that the adversarial usefulness of this fact is being held in reserve by the cross examiner, who has been waiting for the opportunity to introduce it into evidence in a manner that maximizes its effectiveness.

The opportunity begins to arise when the witness states that she was "in the house" and is developed by counsel who asks, "why were you in the house." After the witness' response, "I was visiting," counsel asks, "... did you always stay inside the house." In her next response, the witness in effect walks directly into counsel's trap "W: Well I had to SLee:p somewhere."

In springing the trap, counsel simultaneously throws into question both the morality and credibility of the witness in the exchange which follows:

- D: You didn't SLee:p inside the house you slept in the guesthouse, isn't that true.
 W: True:;
 D: You slept in the guesthouse with LY:le.
 W: Correct.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

What you find when you look at lawyers' work in court is that the problems presented to counsel by different adverse testimony are often similar in nature and that likewise the ways counsel have of dealing with a particular adverse witness can often be used in dealing with other opposing witnesses, even though the topic of interrogation is always different; the particular witness, counsel and parties are distinct; and the case issues, circumstances and specific content of the examination interchange is always varied and unique.

That is to say, the kind of tasks posed for the lawyer by the adverse testimony and the structure of the lawyer's work in dealing with it is still in many ways similar—You have a witness that is not going to give you anything helpful to your case unless you absolutely pry it out of them; they are claiming not to recall or not to understand even your simplest question; they are reinterpreting the question so as to specifically not provide the details that you are obviously seeking, ETC. And these are recurrent problems which become recognizable for lawyers and which set recognizable tasks for attorneys who are trying to competently do their work in any actual case.

Of course, no two days or even two moments in court are ever exactly alike. Even if counsel prepares his questions the night before, he never knows in advance just what answers he will get, what lines of inquiry he will need to stay on, take another crack at and further pursue with the witness. He also never knows beforehand just what objections his questions will evoke; or how the judge will rule on them; or how he may need to rework a question so it is no longer objectionable; ETC.

But, despite the unpredictability and uniqueness of courtroom events and the spontaneity of lawyers' work in court, there are times when you notice, 'Gee, this witness is like that other evasive witness or that the lawyer's work in this episode is like counsel's work in that other episode.' That is to say, they have an affinity to one another.

Such findings are not based on what the analyst disengagedly bestows or imposes upon the exchange. Rather, you make those kinds of observations "on your feet" based on the way that the interchange observably happens in detail; that is, it has those orderly features in how it unfolds. This suggests a lived orderliness of the courtroom that resides in the locally organized material detail of real-time interrogation interchange and lawyers' practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For years, the invaluable lectures, writings and insights of Harold Garfinkel have provided me with inexhaustible resources and his teachings motivated the undertaking of this work. I thank him for inviting me to present an earlier version of the paper at the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association held in San Diego, California, April 1994.

This study is also indebted to the foundational research and findings of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, Heritage and Drew, and others in the analysis of natural conversation. John Heritage helped on every aspect of this project. His considerable forbearance, guidance, and encouragement are greatly appreciated.

I gratefully acknowledge the penetrating comments and suggestions by Robert Emerson, Michael Moerman and Peter Ibarra on an earlier draft. A special debt of gratitude is also owed to Geoffrey Hazard of Yale Law School.

Finally, I wish to thank the following friends and peer mentors: Richard Boldt, Doug MacBeth, Mark Peyrot and Andrew Roth and especially my husband, John Horwitz.

NOTES

¹ The term 'impeachment' as used by lawyers is an irremediable member's gloss. Even among lawyers, there is no uniform meaning of impeachment. Most broadly, it has been defined to mean "the adducing of proof that a witness is unworthy of belief," (Black's Law Dictionary, p. 887). There are certain standard bases for impeaching the credibility of a witness in court, such as by challenging the witness' ability to perceive, remember or recount the matter about which s/he testifies or by establishing the existence of contradictory evidence or bias, interest or other motive to testify untruthfully (California Evidence Code, section 780). Furthermore, a witness who is willfully false in one portion of his testimony may be disbelieved in the whole of his/her testimony (*Book of Approved Jury Instruction (BAJI)*, 2.22).

² This usage of "ETC." is borrowed from Garfinkel's discussions of the "et cetera" problem (see e.g., Garfinkel, 1967).

³ Direct examination is the first examination of a witness on the merits by the party on whose behalf s/he is called (Black's Law Dictionary, Fourth Edition). Its purpose is to elicit facts relevant to establishing the elements of the parties' claims or defenses in the litigation. The testimony elicited on direct examination is regularly edited and selectively presented to highlight, slant or exaggerate helpful facts and accounts, while at the same time minimizing, qualifying, explaining away or omitting harmful facts and accounts.

⁴ The notations in the transcripts use the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (1984). The principal symbols used are:

- (.4) Numbers in parentheses indicate the occurrence and duration of pauses in tenths of a second.
- [Marks the point at which overlapping talk begins.
-] Marks the point at which overlapping talk ends.
- = Notes the end of one utterance and the start of the next with no gap or overlap.
- Indicates the point at which a word is cut off.

(()) Double parentheses indicate the transcriber's descriptions.

doing Indicates some form of emphasis by means of pitch.

MONTH Capital letters are used to indicate that an utterance or part of an utterance is produced with louder amplitude than the surrounding talk.

slee::p Colons indicate a stretch of the immediately prior sound.

.,? punctuations note falling, continuing, and rising intonation, respectively.

⁵ Participants regularly orient to producing adjacently paired utterances such that upon the occurrence of the first pair part (here a question), a particular second pair part (here, an answer) becomes relevant in the next turn (cf. Schegloff, 1972).

⁶ In resisting the cross examiner's questioning at this point, the expert witness uses an insertion sequence, but modifies the features of such sequences as routinely produced in ordinary conversation. The witness' inserted question initiates a repair which indicates something problematic about the interrogator's preceding question (cf. Sacks et al., 1977). The witness' response following the examiner's first pair part question requests clarification of the purportedly ambiguous question prior to producing the projected second pair part answer in reply. The witness' request for clarification itself "inserts" a second adjacency pair in which the clarification question is the first pair part and the examiner's "response" (i.e., her reformulated question) constitutes the second pair part. Upon completion of the insertion sequence, the second pair part answer to the examiner's original question again becomes relevant in the witness' next turn. However, unlike in ordinary conversation, once the insertion sequence has been responded to by the examiner reformulating her original question, no "answer" to the lawyer's original first pair part question will be forthcoming from the witness. Instead, it is incumbent upon the witness to answer the question as reformulated. For the seminal treatment of insertion sequences, see Schegloff, 1980. On the use of insertion sequences in the courtroom context, see Atkinson and Drew, 1979. I am grateful to Andrew Roth for his helpful suggestions on this point.

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Spatial Distribution and Participation in British Contemporary Musical Performances

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The British independent ('indie') music scene is a disparate community brought together by participation in a distinctive event, the gig. By examining the participant framework of gigs, this article shows gigs to be highly structured and repetitive events. Physical placement is an indicator of the participant's level of orientation to the musical performance, the type of physical activity that participant will be engaged in, as well as the participant's age, experience, and professional status. This participant framework also informs an ideology of aging within the 'youth' culture of indie music.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the differential participation and spatial distribution of audience members at British 'indie' music gigs. My analysis builds on linguistic anthropological research which suggests that meaning is created interactionally across modalities, incorporating verbal, cognitive, spatial, temporal, and physical codes, and that the situated use of the body within a socially organized event is a resource for the deployment of meaning (Duranti, 1992; Goodwin, 1994). For British indie gigs, live musical performances of a distinctive "youth" genre of music, the primary modalities for the expression of social difference are through spatial distribution and different modes of participation within a gig's specific participant framework. A participant framework provides a frame for the interpretation of activities, a sense of how actions and utterances are to be taken (Goffman, 1974). Participant frameworks provide a guideline for the expected behaviors in an event including different activities for those in different roles.

This article is a description of the participant framework of indie gigs. As such, a singular gig is not described, but rather the organizing principles that govern spatial distribution and comportment in general are set forth in detail. Within the gig's participant framework, physical placement is an indicator of a participant's level of orientation to the performance, the types of activities one will engage in, and one's degree of alignment to the band on stage. These principles tell us not only about the mechanisms used to organize the activities

of audience members at a gig, but also reveal the salient issues used to differentiate members of the community from each other, namely, the degrees of affiliation or fanship with the band on stage and the underlying concern of members with age. In other words, organizational principles governing participant activity reveal part of an ideological infrastructure that underpins being a member of the indie music community.

At issue in this paper is the constitution of subjectivity within a community of competent practitioners who are able to understand the relative subjective positions of different members of the indie community by their spatial distribution and comportment. Understanding ritual as a communicative activity entails the examination of the interactional production of subjectivities for participants through embodied practice. The subjectivity of perspective is not merely a category marked by *a priori* identities, but is embodied in the activities of social actors organized within participant frameworks. The activities of participants (what they do during the course of their engagement in an event) need to be examined in detail in order to understand what crucial distinctions between members are articulated by their participation.

I ascertained the participant framework of indie gigs through participant observation and microanalysis of video taped interaction. The observations herein are based on data from 14 months of fieldwork in Great Britain where I videotaped 28 hours of audience behavior and was a participant observer at more than one hundred gigs and five festivals. These events were observed in a broad range of areas in England, Scotland, and Wales, including gigs in immense urban areas such as London, Sheffield, and Glasgow and in suburban hamlets in areas such as Middlesex and Yorkshire. My research also included an analysis of indie discourse in the main public forum for British indie music fans, the weekly music press, interviews with audience members and professionals, and recorded conversations between participants at events.¹ Thus, the generalizations regarding interaction do not stem from a single piece of data or a singular encounter, but can be seen repeatedly in a wide range of events and settings all over Great Britain.

For the indie community, a community delineated by selective consumption of music and recognized as constituting "youth" culture, these issues involve different modes of engagement from active and demonstrative to inert and reserved representing relative degrees of fanship in relationship to performers. The gig is a ritual that performs the category of 'youth,' designating it as a liminal stage characterized by modes of engagement different from the modes of engagement reserved for older audiences. Age is a central concern of gig participants revealed both in the participant framework of the event and in public and private discourse where aging is seen as limiting one's ability to maintain membership within the indie community. For indie gigs, a variable participant framework is correlated with different spatial domains to designate a topography of fanship and articulate an ideology of aging.

The *gig* is the primary event that transforms a disparate community characterized by the mediated discourse of the media into a community of face-to-face activity. This community, located in Great Britain, is colloquially known as *indie*, which is an abbreviation of the term *independent*. It is a genre of music many consider analogous to 'alternative' music in the United States. This style of music was historically defined by its close association with small independently owned record companies and independent distribution networks. It is a subgenre of rock and pop and for the most part is popular amongst anglo adolescents from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds.

For the audience at a gig, there are different modes of participation depending on where one locates oneself within the venue. Activities appropriate in one area are entirely inappropriate in another. Indie gigs take place in social spaces that differ from traditional concert halls. At a typical gig venue, participants distribute themselves in space and often stand throughout the entire performance, whereas at concert halls the audience generally sits in chairs, seats pre-assigned. Gig venues present the opportunity for interaction involving a high degree of activity and bodily contact, often in ways rarely seen in other cultural settings. By contrast, concerts that occur in seated halls place participants in equidistant positions and generally discourage or limit participant's physical contact. Although the musicians' performance may be the same in seated and non-seated venues, the participant framework and the experiences of audiences in concert halls and gigs are distinct.

My description of audience participation is based on the spatial organization of well attended gigs, ones involving at least two hundred participants. Gig attendance ranges from a performance in a venue where only the club or pub employees are present to larger venues of approximately 4500 participants. But the number of individuals engaging in the indie participant framework can be much greater; the distribution of audience members at an indie festival such as Reading attended by between 38,000 - 50,000 functions like a large gig.

For analysis, I have classified the space occupied by the audience at indie gigs into three zones due to the distinct types of activity that are exhibited in these areas. For well attended shows, three zones regularly appear. *Zone one*, the area closest to the stage, is the most physically complex with people packed together in close proximity and the potential for vigorous movement.² *Zone two* begins a quarter of the way back into the venue and reaches the back of the floor area. This area is far less dense and is the most static. *Zone three* is in the back of the venue including the bars, bathrooms, and at times a cloakroom and foyer area. This zone exhibits the most disparate activities.

Structurally, gigs are predicated on a rudimentary distinction, between the space of the performers and the space of the audience. Indie gigs occur in a number of different settings from small pubs without stages where the line between audience and performer may be as thin as a piece of tape adhered to the floor to huge events such as the Reading with large stages, security personnel and a gap of some twenty feet between the performer and spectator.

THE ZONES

Zone one is composed of the front rows of people, the "pit," and a "mosh pit," a subsection of the pit area. Near the front at well attended shows, audience density is very high. Often horizontal pressure is such that audience members in the front are lifted off the ground by the sheer force of other human bodies. There is a high degree of movement in this area including dancing, jumping up and down, and the shaking of heads. In addition, zone one presents the opportunity for having intimate bodily contact with strangers and the density of human bodies in the forepart of the venue allows for certain distinctive activities such as diving from the stage onto other audience members and the practice of *crowd surfing*. The latter is an activity where an individual is hoisted on top of the crowd and is supported by other audience members while being tossed or rolled horizontally across the crowd. During this activity the supporting 'ground' consists of human bodies.

Crowd surfing is extremely collaborative. Not only does an individual need at least one other person to enable him/her to climb on top of the crowd, but the spectators that compose the ground need to be supportive. Audience members standing in the front area or the peripheries of zone one rarely initiate and engage in rolling.³ While people in the first row are often not very happy about spending a large portion of the show having people roll over them, handling crowd surfers is considered to be one of the occupational hazards of being close to the band. The bulk of individuals in zone one consider crowd surfing to be an integral part of the gig experience and allow and aid individuals to crowd surf. However, if the basic audience members in zone one do not collaborate, crowd surfing is not possible. For example, when the Lemonheads played at Norwich UEA in 1994, there was only a small section of audience members who wanted to crowd surf. During the set, the same seven lads tried repeatedly to get up and onto the audience to crowd surf. Each attempt was rebuffed by audience members who, instead of passing forward, pushed back the crowd surfers until they dropped. By the end of the headliner's set, not one individual had been successful at staying on top of the crowd for longer than 20 seconds.⁴ This was a case of an audience that was not compliant to the activity of crowd surfing and precluded the possibility of it occurring.⁵

In practice, audience members do not collaborate with individuals who violate norms of conduct while crowd surfing. If an individual is not rolling properly or if he/she dives off the stage improperly, this person will be dropped immediately. Several of the violations are not keeping one's feet up, kicking people, diving in such a way that one's body weight is concentrated in a single location rather than distributing it horizontally, and staying in one location rather than moving across the space.

In general, participants are careful to make sure that no one gets seriously hurt at gigs although at times injuries do occur. Crowd surfing is one of the more dangerous endeavors involved in gig attendance. While getting up on top of the crowd is fairly easy to coordinate with one or two others, coming down is less assured. To get down from the top of the crowd, rollers either move towards the front row where they will be pulled off by concert security or move to the side where they slip down, ideally feet first. There is a risk when one engages in these largely socially constructed activities, that the diver or roller will not be caught or that the audience will not be compliant. There are times when, despite the efforts of others, a person who is rolling will fall down in the middle of the crowd. This is a very dangerous moment for there is a possibility that this individual could be smothered or trampled. If a person is falling through a pocket in the crowd in any way other than feet first, those around him will grab hold of anything they can to preclude the roller from hitting the ground. If a person does fall down, the people in the area will stop jumping and dancing around the individual who has fallen and help him or her to get up. At festivals, this is a far more complicated and dangerous project. A great number of people can fall simultaneously. This is due to the great number of people in the back and sides exerting a constant pressure in moving forward and toward the center, often causing huge horizontal waves that result in a whole section collapsing. The process of helping people to their feet may last a significant portion of a song.

Audience members are aware of a responsibility involved in being a member of zone one:

There's an etiquette in the moshpit. When people dive, you expect them not to kick you in the head or to be too violent. If someone falls over you expect people to pick them up....there are unwritten laws. When you go to a gig you expect people to have a good time and get along (Chris, *Melody Maker*, May 18, 1992).

Initially, looking at the frenetic activity of the front region of a gig, the audience may appear wild and uncontrolled. However when one observes the microlevel of interaction, it becomes apparent that the activities of the front are regulated by participants and mechanisms are present by which the crowd monitors itself.

Zone one is the area of the most energetic activity, the youngest audience and strongest statement of fanship. The front is typically comprised of individuals ranging in age from approximately 14 to 21. Within this area, there are acute gender distinctions in terms of bodily distribution. At indie gigs, females consistently constitute only 35 percent of the audience. In zone one, females generally stand in the front three rows or slightly farther back in the peripheral side areas. The mosh area, where people dance by running into one another in arrhythmic abandon is primarily male. The mosh pit appeared irregularly and appeared to be languishing during the tenure of this project (1993-1995). Mosh pits generally surfaced only at the larger shows with bands who play a more spirited and lively style of music. For more reserved indie bands, no mosh pit would develop.

Zone two extends behind the front area toward the back of the venue. *Zone two* is the area in which fans watch the performance with the least amount of distraction—visibly, physically, or aurally. This area is characterized by the least amount of movement. The line between the activity of the front and the stasis of *zone two* is quite sharp and demarcated. In *zone two*, people are located in close proximity without actual physical contact between bodies. In this area, there are proxemic distinctions between strangers and those who know each other. Friends stand in close proximity and larger spaces appear between strangers. The distances between strangers becomes even greater in *zone three*. In *zone one*, there are no discernible proxemic distinctions between strangers and friends with nearly all audience members in the region packed as closely together as possible.

The audience members in *zone two* tend to range in age from early to late twenties. The majority of those who comprise this section are those who once were participants in the *zone one*, but have moved back as they have aged.

In *zone two*, participants are visibly and physically oriented toward the band and stand facing the stage. There is a modest amount of physical response by some participants—rocking of the body back and forth, gentle movement of the head, and tapping one's feet in rhythm to the music. Nevertheless, within this area the physical demonstrativeness of the audience is rather muted. The primary mode of orientation to the performance for those in *zone two* is extended visual focus on the band. Like the majority in *zone one*, members of *zone two* stand facing the stage, but while *zone one* audience members are engaged in a number of activities that can distract visual focus on the band, those in *zone two* primarily stand in visual contemplation of the performance for the duration of a band's set.

If people in *zone two* want to be more physically active, they will move forward. How far forward, depends on how active the audience member wishes to be. Audience members in *zone two* who wish to participate in exuberant dancing or crowd surfing will move into the pit area of *zone one*. Additionally, if people in this area attempt to conduct the activities associated with the front such as bumping into other people or jumping on them, they can be thrown out of the venue. During the tenure of this project, there was only a single occasion where individuals in the back of the venue were found dancing energetically. On this occasion at the Garage in Islington, employees warned the audience members that they must either move forward or face ejection from the venue.

Zone two moves gradually into *zone three*. *Zone three* is where numerous activities that do not directly pertain to the performance take place. Thus, toward the back of *zone two*, one finds participants who will engage in moderate conversation, drinking, and smoking, all activities common in *zone three*. Within *zone three*, one finds the bar and the most socializing in the conventional sense of the word. *Zone three* is also the domain of the music industry professionals including: booking agents, promoters, press agents, managers,

recording executives, product managers, journalists, and musicians from other bands not performing. This area includes the oldest fans (late 20s - 30s), and individuals who are engaged in activities other than watching the band.

There is a marked contrast between the activities in zone three and activities in the other two zones. The attentional foci in zone three are relatively diverse and there is not the same degree of specificity and regularity of activities. Visual orientation toward the stage is much more lax. In general, eye gaze is not focused on the band, yet body orientation is still to a large degree toward the stage. Thus, individuals speaking to each other generally do not stand face-to-face, but rather a mid-orientation between stage and co-conversationalists. At times, zone three may include a room separate from the main performance area and in these cases, members of zone three orient in a face-to-face formation with co-conversationalists with no attention to the performance.

Two of the primary activities of zone three are watching other audience members and engaging in conversation. Just as the individual who wants to be more active moves up toward the stage, so people in the front wishing to talk move back into zone three. People also move to the back when they are disinterested in or dislike the performance. Bars in most venues are located in the back. Therefore, individuals wishing to drink need to come to the back to engage in the transaction of purchasing drinks. By placing the bar in the back, the structural design of venues encourages the location of the back for activities such as fiscal transactions that are not in coordination with the performance.

This schematic description of the zones exhibits the variation in participation at a gig. This variable participation framework correlated with different spatial domains designates a topography of fanship. Within the participant framework of the indie gig, locating oneself in the front is a public assertion of alignment to the band; the physical location of a person close to the stage is a public statement of positive assessment on the part of the audience member. This is most evident when comparing a well attended show to one that is not. At poorly attended shows, distribution of crowd density is often inverted. In these cases, the back of the venue is most densely occupied. The majority of audience members stand beyond 12 to 15 feet back, usually just outside of the light from the stage. On occasion, a few individuals, usually friends of the band, will stand in the visible range. Thus, standing in the front is not merely the result of an *a priori* assumption that the front is the best place to be. Rather selection of that location visibly signifies an assessment to other participants including the band. To move up front is to positively align oneself and one's identity within the community with the band on stage.⁶ Placement in the back publicly communicates non-commitment or disalignment. Hence, the architectural feature that audience members most commonly use to distinguish between standing 'close' in a position of affinity and standing at a 'distance' in a position of ambiguous affiliation is the light from the stage, the feature that makes their selected location visually available for the other participants. Additional participants cluster around those who have already selected their

positions, resulting in a venue that is rather full in the back and empty in the front. For popular bands, audience members will wait in line for hours to have the opportunity to be in the front. For unknown bands without fans, the gig becomes in part a place for bands to try to entice people to move closer and inhabit the space of fans or to take advantage of the opportunity to share another more successful bands' fans.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL DIFFERENCE

A fundamental distinction in the cultural organization of space at the indie gig is communication of alignments. At the indie gig, a body's placement is a physical enactment of an assessment. Physical proximity, physical activities (such as movement that corresponds to the music's rhythm), and visual concentration on performers are socially constructed markers of positive alignment or affinity to the band on stage. Physical distance and attention to other activities are acts of negative alignment, non commitment and/or expressing a non-fan relationship to the band.⁷ Thus, an activity such as crowd surfing where audience members stop between songs is taken as a marker of alignment with the band, of inhabiting a fan relationship. An activity such as talking that does not attend to the performance on stage is taken by co-participants as inhabiting a non-fan relationship. Each of these activities are associated with different zones and therefore where one locates oneself in space is taken as inhabiting a kind of spectatorship, a relative degree of fanship. So while there may be a preponderance of reasons to stand in a particular location within the venue, the act of standing within a particular space and comporting oneself in a particular way is read as taking a stand. Location selection within the venue is voluntary and willful and therefore is seen as having intent, like a gesture for which a participant is held accountable (Kendon, 1990). This homogeneity of meaning held in common by the various participants that constitute an audience is the result of audience members' shared experiences of moving forward and back in relationship to their assessments of bands.

The space at a gig is organized not only around this principle of alignment and disalignment, but also by distinctions made in age groups. Age is a critical issue for indie music fans. In both public and private discourse, age is a topic of great concern and aging is seen as marginalizing one's ability to participate in the community.

Age is a key feature in the spatial organization of the gig. The space at a gig is age graded with the youngest participants in the front, gradually moving to the oldest in the back. Although younger people may stand in the back at times, getting drinks, or waiting for a different band to perform, it is extraordinarily rare for older individuals to be in the front. For the indie community, old refers to anyone over the age of 26. The centrality of the issue

of aging is apparent in the participant structure where being further back in the venue limits the kinds of positive enthusiasm one can display. To be in the front embodies a particular way of being in the world—passionate and physically expressive, leaving an event drenched with sweat and physically exhausted (cf. Turner 1977). Moving through space, one finds the embodiment of a different world view, one of composure—cool rather than hot in demeanor and bodily activity. Each of the zones invoke different forms of spectatorship with the most actively passionate in the front, moving across space to more reserved and remote in the back.

Indie music is imagined as a youth phenomena and gig going marks one as being 'young.' The movement across these zones from a hot spectatorship to a cool spectatorship, from active and demonstrative to inactive and undemonstrative is a marker of aging. In this social organization, one can see the gig with its accompanying participation framework as an event that marks one's course through adolescence. As individuals age, they move back through space, until the point they are aged out the back door. However, when older people stop going to gigs, they do not stop attending musical performances. They attend concerts—concerts that are performed in venues with seats—a move that compels even more reserved bodily composure. The gig is an event that communicates the expected behaviors associated with aging for this community: youth is enacted as the time of physical and emotional expressiveness and adulthood as a time of reserved, composed demeanor and sedentary lifestyle. The young fan in the front is ardently expressive. Moving further from the stage, age and distance increase to the perhaps equally ardent, but diminutively expressive older fan in the back.

Within the scope of the gig, we can see variable modes of activity correlated with different spatial domains. Placement and bodily comportment are a public statement of degrees of fanship. For the people who make an intense association with music, finding others who like the same music and bands is a compelling force in their lives. A disalignment on the value of a band is not merely a disalignment on topic, it is a disalignment in a relationship. It is through this process of making alignments and disalignments manifest in the spatial distribution of the gig that members of the indie music community constitute their social group and make affinities and distinctions between themselves.

NOTES

¹ Analysis of the public discourse of indie included the review of archival issues of the British weekly music press dating back to the mid-1970s when the weekly music press began to cater to the specialized interests of fans of punk and the incipient independent music sector developing in Britain at that time.

² Music style is a factor which contributes to the degree of movement found in the front. For bands with an introverted or quiet musical style, there is little movement in the front. The vigorous activity found in zone one is generally characteristic of a

frenetic style of music. However, irrespective of a band's musical style, for well attended performances, the front is characterized by high density and a great degree of interpersonal contact between participants.

³ The highly dense area of the front, near the stage presents a difficulty for stage divers. Since stage divers usually inhabit the main pit area, they need to get through the people in front of them to access the stage, often asking permission of audience members in the front to be let up in order to have access to the stage, at times resulting in a small queue of potential stage divers waiting to get through to the stage.

⁴ The majority of crowd surfers can expect on average to stay on top of the crowd for a couple minutes. However, since crowd surfers are let down at the end of a song, individuals who are hoisted on top of the crowd near the end of a song have a very short ride.

⁵ There are several possible factors that may explain why the crowd at this show was adverse to crowd surfing. While the Lemonheads were very popular with the indie press, their audience configuration was not particularly indie. This crowd was significantly younger than the average indie gig crowd as well as having a significantly higher percentage of females. The combination of less experienced gig goers along with audience members who do not actively participate in crowd surfing made it apparent that the majority of audience members were there to watch the performers on stage rather than participate in the standard activities of a gig.

⁶ There are at times criticism of those in zone one by audience members of zone two that many are more interested in crowd surfing and stage diving rather than in the performers on stage: an allegation of alignment to the activities of zone one rather than a alignment to the band performing. However, it is quite apparent from crowd surfers and stage divers coordinating their activities with the music that they very much attend to the performers on stage. Additionally, even the most spirited crowd surfers only come to the front for a band they like. As one informant put it: "You can't get into it, when the band is crap."

⁷ Placement in the back may also be seen as articulating status differentials. The primary emic distinction between audience members in the indie community distinguishes between the *punters* and the *liggers*. The punters are fans who pay to get into a performance and the liggers are those, generally professionals, who get in for free on the guest list. Since the majority of professionals stand in zone three, standing in the back is seen at times as articulating the status of music industry professional and held in contrast to the status of fan. The fans of zone one and zone two, regularly criticize the professionals of zone three for being disinterested in the band's music, but few would characterize professionals inhabiting the position in the back as being disinterested in the band in general. Professionals, who habitually stand in zone three often have strong affiliations with the band performing. However, it is important for professionals to differentiate themselves from the ordinary audience member presumed to have a submissive relationship with the performers. Standing in the back serves to differentiate the professional's seemingly peer relations with the musicians from a fan's asymmetrical and idolatrous one.

Additionally, many gigs function for the recording industry in much the same manner as professional conferences do for other fields, providing the opportunity to network and augment professional ties with colleagues. Therefore standing in the

back is seen as inhabiting the position of non-fan, a position that may or may not reveal the interest the participant has in the band.

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Negotiating Price in an African American Beauty Salon¹

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For many African American women, the beauty salon is a site of communal bonding, as well as a public space where professional and personal identities are co-constructed by and for women. Client-hairdresser negotiations about hair are integral to women's interactions at the salon. Negotiations must mediate between clients' personal preferences and potential economic investment and the hairdresser's professional expertise, creative agency, and advertising potential (i.e., a clients' hairstyle advertises the hairdresser's craft). Clients employ a range of prosodic, proxemic, and paralinguistic stances to communicate their hair preferences. At times, the discursive stances employed by clients during negotiations serve to challenge their social identities as service recipients and hair care novices (cf. Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991). Similarly, a hairdresser's social identity as a service provider and hair care expert can be renegotiated through stances which invite collaboration from the client. This paper discusses a client-initiated negotiation in which, on the surface, a client seeks to ascertain the hairdresser's prescribed hair treatment. However, the client's use of questions, prosody, and various paralinguistic cues suggests that this negotiation concerns the hairdresser's intended fee more so than it does her intended hair treatment. Furthermore, the client's series of questions during this negotiation seem to violate her role-expectations of hair novice and challenge the hairdresser's social identity as hair expert. As such, the client's subsequent attempt to trivialize the emphatic weight of her own questions is met with failure as the hairdresser exposes, via humor, the marked nature of those questions.

INTRODUCTION

Women's hair care is part of the fabric of many cultures, including American and African culture.¹ Bad hair days and the fear of the great unknown—rain and humidity—have undone many attempts to have a good day. In Africa, hair adornment is often central to women's communal bonding as well as a source of income. The time African and African American women spend on elaborate braiding or European hair styles, African American hair styles, Jamaican styles, etc. is both a cultural and a feminist exercise, as well as one which mediates local, national, and transnational identities (Arnoldi & Kreamer,

1995). This is especially true in the U.S. where the notion of hair style choice made its socio-economic debut in the 1920s with the introduction of the straightening comb (cf. Ellis, 1994) and then in the 1960s, with the introduction of the Afro. Because this latter hair style troped the black power movement and political, social, and historical inclusion, it also reinforced the notion that hair symbolized cultural identity.

As Mercer (1994) notes in "Hair Style/Politics," this *cultural discourse* of African American hair serves to index one's racial and political identity, regardless of the wearer's intentions. Likewise, braids, dreadlocks, and short afros are often interpreted as reflections of a person's Afrocentric identity (Chevannes, 1994; Majors & Billson, 1992; Levine, 1977), while 'bone straight' perms have been politically interpreted as indicators of an assimilated or Eurocentric identity in the African American community (Bonner, 1991; Russell et al, 1992; Wiley, 1991; hooks, 1994; McGee et al., 1985).² Hence, for African American females, the choice about a particular hairstyle often entails a choice about a particular (and often racial) identity.

Pilot observations in an Oakland beauty salon have illuminated the range of discursive stances employed by clients and hairdressers as they negotiate hair care. Negotiations are integral to all salons as they mediate the client's personal hair preferences and economic investment and the hairdresser's professional expertise, creative agency, and advertising potential (i.e. a clients' hairstyle advertises the hairdresser's craft). During negotiations, clients and hairdressers likewise employ discursive stances that reflect their respective social identities (cf. Gumperz, 1982; Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991) as hair novice/service recipient and hair expert/service provider. Clients display novice stances by yielding diagnostic power to hairdressers and hairdressers employ expert stances by assuming some degree of authority, either directly or indirectly, over how the client's hair should be treated and/or styled. And yet, occasionally, the discursive stances employed by clients during negotiations serve to challenge their own social identities as service recipients and hair novices. Similarly, hairdressers may renegotiate their own expert status through discursive stances that invite clients to participate in hair diagnosis. Because the resulting hairstyles reflect the client's individual persona(s) as well as the hairdresser's creativity and skill, client-hairdresser negotiations involve problem-solving, compromises and, to some degree, conflict resolution.

In African American beauty salons, client-hairdresser negotiations also exemplify how discourse and interaction mediate the politics of hair and identity for African American women (Bucholtz, 1995; cf. Mageo, 1994). For decades, African American salons have typically served women with a distinct range of hair textures (cf. Drake & Clayton, 1970). This range of hair texture is from slightly wavy to tightly curled.³ African American females' wavy or tightly curled hair texture has long been critiqued as a reflection of poor grooming and as a marker of ugliness (cf. Morrison, 1970; Haley, 1965; Featherston, 1994), savagery (Jordan, 1968) and militancy (Feagan & Sikes, 1994; Sinclair, 1994).

The beauty salon constitutes a social, political, and highly gendered site where political, professional, as well as aesthetic identities are crafted by and for African American women.

The degree to which the act of creating social identities *through* hairstyle is made explicit in client-hairdresser negotiations often varies according to the particular genre of beauty salon. In salons which specialize in "natural hair care" (i.e., dreadlocks, braids, and twists), the act of creating social identity through hairstyles is often made explicit. Conversely, in salons which specialize in hairstyles that require hair straightening by means of heat and/or chemicals (i.e., perms), this facet of hair care is more implicit.

This paper discusses a client-initiated negotiation in which, on the surface, a client seeks to ascertain the hairdresser's prescribed hair treatment. The client's use of questions, prosody, and various paralinguistic cues strongly suggests that this negotiation concerns the hairdresser's intended fee more so than it does her intended hair treatment. Additionally, the client assumes various 'expert' stances that contradict her role expectations as hair novice/service recipient and further serve to challenge the hairdresser's social identity as hair expert/service provider. This segment likewise demonstrates the subtle ways in which client and hairdresser's respective social identities as hair novice and expert, as well as their respective hair preferences, are discursively mediated in their negotiations about hair. Before exploring this interaction in-depth, it will be useful to review major literature on discourse styles among African American women and girls.

DISCOURSE STYLES AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND GIRLS

Within the highly gendered site of the African American beauty salon, women employ a cultural repertoire of discourse styles and verbal genres, including *he-said-she-said* (Goodwin, 1980; 1990; 1992), *indirection* and *marking* (Smitherman, 1994; Morgan, 1993; 1994; 1996). These communicative styles are used variably by women according to context and the degree of familiarity between speakers.

Goodwin describes *he-said-she-said* as an elaborate storytelling routine in which a person seeks to address a reported wrong and involves others in the storytelling process. Among the African American girls she observed, *he-said-she-said* was ritualized and often lead to an adamant confrontation between the victim and her alleged slanderer, as well as the girl(s) who originally reported the alleged misdeed. Among African American women in the salon, *he-said-she-said* more often takes the shape of a playful spectacle (cf. Morgan, 1996). It is used by women in casual conversation and, to a lesser degree, in negotiations about hair care. Additionally, women practice a form of *he-said-she-said* in or outside the presence of the alleged gossip for the purposes of mocking them and/or

generating superficial discord among the women. Likewise, the women in the salon who are the subjects of *he-said-she-said* are not as adamant as the girls in Goodwin's research in their responses to the alleged gossipier.

Some clients and hairdressers also rely on *indirection* to communicate their desires and needs concerning hairstyle and treatment. Morgan (1989; 1991; 1993; 1994; 1996) notes that the African American system of indirect speech relies on the collaborative interpretation of a message by speakers and their audience. Morgan further notes that indirect speech is often strategically exploited by African American women. Women also employ marking, an exaggerated rendition of a subject (Smitherman, 1994), to negatively depict a problematic person or situation in their lives⁴ or to mock someone or something.

Women's use, interpretation, and responses to marking, indirection, and *he-said-she-said* routines rely on their shared cultural knowledge of how these discourse styles and verbal genres reflect and invoke their cultural experiences. As such, women's use of these discourse and verbal genres during casual conversation or negotiations about hair care both reflect and construct social and cultural bonds and identity. With respect to negotiations in particular, clients and hairdressers' use of these styles can introduce cultural contexts which can then reframe the negotiations in progress.

SALON DESCRIPTION

The client-initiated negotiation to be discussed took place in a small Oakland salon in November 1995. Joyce, the owner, and Tonya are hairdressers at the salon, which is situated within a working class and largely African American community.⁵ Joyce, 44, is also a mother, wife, and avid churchgoer. Tonya, 26, was recently engaged. She rented Joyce's second booth two years ago, after earning her cosmetology license.

Joyce and Tonya's respective clientele include working to middle-class African American women between the ages of 25-70, though the majority of their clients are middle-aged (40-70). Their relationships with their clientele are not merely economic in nature, but social as well. Throughout the day, women network and share information about resources (sales, baby-sitters, etc.). Sometimes clients and hairdressers distribute flyers to their patrons about local activities or job opportunities. The women also engage in lively discussions about family members, personal and professional relationships, African American celebrities, and church.

The ambience of the salon is celebratory of African American women and culture. Joyce designed the salon with purple and gold to reflect the "royalty of African American women." She accents the salon with flowers that are purchased weekly from the flower shop next door. Joyce and Tonya try to keep the door ajar to welcome clients, as well as dilute the smell and fog of hair spray and

other chemicals used on a daily basis. This open door often welcomes other patrons, including church members selling soulful lunches or dinners, and vendors selling products at wholesale costs. Often, and sometimes in competition with the television, the soulful sounds of jazz, gospel, and, on rare occasions, hip hop grace the salon's interior. Several wall hangings do likewise, including photographs of African American women modeling the latest hairstyles. The most salient wall hangings include five artistic prints reflecting African American women's hair care in the salon and at home. One of these pictures depicts a woman getting her hair "pressed" or straightened with a metal comb on the stove.⁶ Though most of the clients at this salon get their hair straightened chemically, it is fitting that this picture has found its place within these walls. This African American salon is one of thousands which celebrates and preserves African American women's hair ritual.⁷

ANALYSIS

In her 13 years as a hair stylist, Joyce has developed a loyal clientele. Many of her clients include family members, church acquaintances, and other women with whom she has developed strong friendships over the years. A fairly typical negotiation between Joyce and a client is typified in Transcript 1. This client-initiated negotiation involves Joyce and her faithful client, Grace. Grace, who is also Joyce's cousin. Below, Grace initiates a collaborative sequence about the final shaping of her hairstyle.

Transcript 1: Typical Client-Hairstylist Negotiation⁸

- Joyce: ((Sprays Grace's hair with finish sheen))
 Grace: (((Picks in Grace's hair)))
 Grace: (((looks at Joyce through mirror)))
 Grace: <What you gon' do?> (.) You gon' make a bun (.) or you just gon'=
 Joyce: (((Joyce looks at Grace through the mirror)))
 Joyce: [(1.0)]
 Grace: =Oleave it down^O=
 Joyce: =leave it (down)
 Grace: ((mouths)) Okay
 Joyce: [(7.0)]
 Joyce: (((Joyce sprays Grace's hair, sets hairspray down)))
 Joyce: (((Bends down)))
 Joyce: [Give you somethin' to (play) with
 Grace: ((Snickers))

This negotiation is fairly concise and straightforward. It occurs as Joyce begins to apply the final touches to Grace's hairstyle. Joyce sprays Grace's hair with finish sheen and begins to pick at the top of her hair. In Line 4, Grace turns her attention to Joyce through the mirror and asks, "<What you gon' do?> (.)

You gon' make a bu:n (.) or you just gon'," which is followed by a one second pause. At lines 3-7, Grace initiates a negotiation sequence. In her first turn constructional unit (TCU),⁹ Grace delivers a question, "What you gon' do?>" and in her second TCU, she offers potential styles, "You gon' make a bu:n (.) or you just gon'." Grace exerts agency in initiating this negotiation about the final shape of her hairstyle. Yet, the denotational nature and form of Grace's question constitutes a novice stance. Her question essentially grants Joyce the diagnostic power to determine the hairstyle. In doing so, this question further endows Joyce with expert status. Grace's use of such hair jargon as "bu:n" also indexes her familiarity and experience with a range of particular styles. Grace in fact often alternates between a bun freeze and a partial freeze¹⁰ and as such, is particularly qualified to set up this semantic field of hair alternatives for the *freeze* hairstyle. As Grace pauses, Joyce and Grace make eye contact through the mirror. Joyce momentarily suspends her work until Grace proceeds with "leave it down" which is said in a relatively lower pitch. It appears evident in this case that Joyce has read Grace's lower pitch, as well as the structure of her question, "What you gon' do?" as granting Joyce the power to render a creative decision. Joyce responds, "Leave it (down)." Grace confirms this decision by mouthing, "Okay" which can be interpreted as rendering her approval of the decision they have reached collaboratively. After a seven second pause, though, Joyce adds rather playfully in line 21, "Give you somethin' to (play) with." Joyce's reply further qualifies the basis of her decision in a form and fashion of verbal play. Grace participates in and validates this as a form of play by her snickering reply. As such, both she and her hairdresser, Joyce, co-construct the decision to keep part of her hair down (i.e. partial freeze).

In contrast, the client-initiated negotiation outlined below in Transcript 2 is more extensive and is marked by a series of emphatic questions. This negotiation admittedly concerns more subject matter (e.g. both hair style and treatment) and involves a similar construction, "Okay (.1) so what you gon' do to me today girl?" Yet, the client's subsequent use of consecutive questions is atypical of client-hairdresser negotiations in this salon and is marked as unusual by Joyce, as well as overhearers. The negotiation took place in the late afternoon and involves Joyce, Carla; a client, and Lanita; the ethnographer. Kay, who is mentioned in the conversation but not present, is both Carla's sister and Joyce's client.

Transcript 2: An Atypical Client-Hairdresser Negotiation

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1 Joyce: | Okay you can sit in my chair |
| 2 Carla: | ((<i>smilevoice</i>)) Okay (.1) so what you gon' do to me today girl?((<i>walking to</i> |
| 3 | <i>Joyce's booth</i>)) |
| 4 Joyce: | ((<i>playfully</i>)) |
| 5 | [I don't know |
| 6 | (.1) |
| 7 | What you want? |
| 8 Carla: | ((<i>turns to Joyce while en route to Joyce's chair</i>)) |
| 9 | [But you know what? |

- 10 It don't look like I need a touch up
 11 Joyce: Huh?
 12 Carla: It doesn't look like I need a touch up
 13 (1.0)
 14 I mean you'll have to feel it
 15 *[(waves hand towards Joyce)]*
 16 Joyce: [It's only been what?
 17 Carla: I don't know
 18 (.1)
 19 Three weeks
 20 Joyce: You shouldn't
 21 Carla: =I shouldn't need one huh?
 22 *[(sits down in Joyce's chair, Joyce begins to feel through Carla's hair)]*
 23 >So what you gonna do?<
 24 Line me? *[(client feels back of hair)]*
 25 >How much is a trim?<
 26 >Did you wanna trim?<
 27 *[(Joyce laughs)]*
 28 [>What you wanna do?<
 29 Carla: *[(Carla turns and winks at Lanita)]*
 30 It's definitely dirty though girl (.1) whe:w *[(sighs)]*
 31 *[(agitated voice)]* O::h my son asked me
 32 What you goin' there for?
 33 It looks good to me!
 34 I Was Like Because I Need
 35 (.1) Because I Want To!
 36 *[(Joyce begins to feel Carla's hair)]*
 37 >How's it look?<
 38 >How's it feelin'?<
 39 *[(Joyce leans forward on clients shoulders and laughs, Carla laughs)]*
 40 KAY SAY, "ASK HER A WHOLE LOT OF QUESTIONS
 41 =TO GET YOUR HAIR DONE"
 42 I'm just messin with you
 43 (.1)
 44 Go 'head on Joyce
 45 Lanita: Is this Kay's sister?
 46 Carla: Uh huh
 47 Lanita: *[(squeals)]* O::::::::::::H *[(laughs)]*
 48 Joyce: Yeah
 49 Carla: O::::::::h
 50 Joyce: That's my daughter
 51 Carla: Uh huh I figured she was
 52 Joyce: [No it's just that you asked about seven questions *right* in a row
 53 *[(laughing)]*
 54 Carla: [I'm so good
 55 *[(looks back at Lanita and winks)]*
 56 That's ma job girl
 57 (.1)
 58 I work for a Workman's Comp Company
 59 (.1)
 60 Carla: I know how to ask
 61 Joyce: [Oh La:::wd *[(laughing)]*
 62 Carla: [I ask people all kind of stuff
 63 (.1)
 64 >When's Ya Last Day At Work?<
 65 (.1)
 66 >How You Get Hurt?<
 67 (.1)
 68 >Who Sent In The Paper?<

ANALYSIS

This negotiation affords an exploration of the shifting discursive stances and strategies employed by Carla, in particular, in negotiating hair treatment and style. In line 1, Carla is summoned to Joyce's booth, an area where hair treatment is typically diagnosed and hairstyles are negotiated. En route, Carla stops to ask, "Okay (.1) so what you gon' do to me today girl." As a way of answering this inquiry, Joyce asks Carla a question, namely how long it has been since Carla's last perm, a necessary step before reapplying chemicals to the hair. Carla replies, "I don't know (.1) Three weeks."

Joyce's question allows Carla to assess her hairdresser's professional integrity and skill. Women sometimes seek a new hairdresser because their former beautician decided to perm their hair when such a chemical treatment was unnecessary. Bitter clients often attribute this to the hairdresser's lack of skill or their hairdresser's desire to charge a higher fee. Likewise, Joyce's reply in line 19, "You shouldn't," is an indicator to Carla that Joyce will not over-perm her hair by virtue of inexperience or for the purpose of increasing the fee. Joyce's reply also constitutes a diagnosis and expert stance which orients the preceding negotiation towards closure. In line 21, Carla adds almost in overlap, "I shouldn't need one huh," where the "huh" serves as an agreement token¹¹ or confirmation of Joyce's preceding diagnosis.

This negotiation, though, is apparently not over for Carla. As Joyce begins to feel through Carla's hair, Carla asks in succession, ">So what you gonna do?< Line Me? >How much is a trim?< >Did you want to trim?<," where the first question reiterates Carla's question in line 2, "Okay (.1) so what you gon' do to me today girl?" Also note that within this series of questions is an inquiry about the cost of a trim. These questions in their rapid delivery, abundance, and sequential order provoke laughter from Joyce. Joyce's response suggests that such a line of questions is amusing and perhaps even uncommon in this context.

My pilot observations of client-hairdresser negotiations in this Oakland salon have thus far shown that, while clients often challenge their role expectations as hair novices, they seldom do so by employing a series of emphatic questions. Additionally, when clients who were also Joyce's immediate family members used such a series of questions to negotiate hair care, they were reprimanded by being asked, "Do you wanna do it?" or told, "Just let me do it!" With this client, Joyce responds with laughter. As Joyce laughs, Carla turns to Lanita, winks and states, ">What you wanna do!<" Her wink and the animated delivery of her question seem to acknowledge her questions as constituting an improper interrogation of Joyce while also working to trivialize the emphatic force of the questions. About two minutes later, as Joyce concludes her initial appointment, Carla bends toward the mirror and states somewhat to herself, "It's

definitely dirty though girl," after which she sighs. Carla's use of *girl* is a marker of intimacy. As Smitherman (1994) notes, "*girl*" is an informal female address term used mostly between women to mark solidarity and/or mutual admiration.

In a manner characteristic of women's social interactions in the salon, Carla initiates (in line 31) a complaint about a perceived trouble source in her life. The trouble source is her son and the complaint involves his recent inquiry about her visit to the beauty salon. In lines 31-33 Carla states, "O:::h my son asked me What you goin' there for? It looks good to me!" Carla places stress on *me* as she marks or repeats her son's comments in an exaggerated and mocking manner.¹² Carla's negative framing of her son's inquiry indexes her dissatisfaction with his inquiry. Her reply, "I Was Like Because I Need (.) Because I Want To!" in lines 34-35 suggests that professional hair care is a desire that is not to be questioned by her son. Her reply further asserts that what "looks good to *him*" is immaterial with respect to her decision to go to the salon.

Following Carla's complaint and assertion, Joyce begins to feel the client's hair. Here, Carla initiates yet another set of questions. In lines 37-38, she asks ">How's it look?< >How's it feelin?<" in rapid succession, which provokes both work-withdrawal and laughter from Joyce. At this point, Carla acknowledges that she has been asking too many questions and states emphatically and in a loud pitch, "KAY SAY, ASK HER A WHOLE LOT OF QUESTIONS TO GET YOUR HAIR DONE!" Carla uses *he-said-she-said* here by implicating Kay, who is not present, as the instigator behind her use of questions. The structure ("KAY SAY ...") and animated delivery of her accusation parallels the performance of *he-said-she-said* by the African American girls in Goodwin's (1980; 1990; 1992) study. Through her use of *he-said-she-said* which involves an absent, yet mutually familiar target (Kay), Carla is able to attribute her behavior to Kay, as well as trivialize the emphatic weight and inappropriateness of her questions. In line 41, Carla issues a disclaimer, "I'm just messin with you Joyce" which further mitigates the intention of her prior series of questions.¹³ Carla adds, "Go 'head on Joyce," which permits Joyce to proceed with hair care. In lines 45-47, Lanita, the ethnographer as well as a marginal participant, learns of Carla's affinity to Kay and responds excitedly. In line 52, Joyce is explicit about attributing her laughter to Carla's abundant series of questions. While laughing herself, Joyce states, "No it's just that you asked about seven questions *right* in a row," where the adverb *right* emphasizes the consecutive delivery of Carla's questions. As Lanita and Joyce laugh, Carla engages in a form of verbal play where she then attributes her line of questions to her job. In line 54 Carla states, "I'm so good," after which she winks at Lanita. Carla continues, "That's ma job girl (.1) I work for a Workman's Comp Company (.1) I know how to ask." Joyce interjects with "Oh La:::wd" at line 61. Carla continues, "I ask people all kind of stuff (.1) >When's Ya Last Day At Work?< (.1) >How You Get Hurt?< (.1) >Who Sent In The Paper?<" As

such, Carla again uses questions, as well as winks, to bring the negotiation towards an amusing closure and further trivialize the force of her inquiry.

RETROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANT INSIGHT

In reviewing the abundant, sequential, and denotative nature of Carla's line of questions, I became curious as to whether these discourse strategies were employed by Carla to mask her attempt to assess cost. This assumption was further fueled by Carla's preoccupation with various aspects of her hair treatment and most importantly, her first (and only) reference to cost in line 24, "<How much is a trim?<" In an ethnographic interview shortly following this exchange, Joyce revealed that Carla is not a regular client. In fact, Carla visits the salon about once every two months.¹⁴ Joyce also noted that Carla's sister, Kay, usually pays for her hair treatments. On this visit, however, Carla had to pay for her own hair treatment. For this reason Joyce also interpreted the nature and delivery of Carla's questions as an indirect means to assess the price of the visit in order to avoid the discomfort associated with having insufficient funds. These facts suggest that 'novice' and 'expert' stances may be strategically employed by clients to negotiate their particular interests with respect to hair style, hair treatment, and in this case, cost. Having revealed how Carla's negotiation was interpreted by Joyce, I will briefly revisit their negotiation to investigate how Carla's attempt to assess cost is strategically executed.

REVISITING THE CLIENT-HAIRDRESSER NEGOTIATION AS AN ATTEMPT TO ASSESS COST

After Joyce's summons in line 1, Carla moves to the area where hair is typically diagnosed and treated. While en route, Carla initiates an indirect negotiation to assess the price. She states, "Okay (.1) so what you gon do to me today girl?" This statement, though softened by smile-voice intonation, can be read as "What do you want to do to my hair?" Joyce's reply, "I don't know (.) What you want?" invites corroboration from Carla in diagnosing her hair treatment. Joyce's invitation to corroborate is not unusual among casual clients, especially when they are discussing hair treatments that require (as does this one) the application of chemicals to the hair. Carla's statement in lines 9-10, "But you know what? It don't look like I need a touch up" may be a subtle assertion that, "It doesn't look like I need a perm." This mitigated assertion could constitute an attempt on Carla's part to honor Joyce's professional expertise as a hair stylist. After an other-initiated repair from Joyce, Carla reiterates in line 12, "It doesn't look like I need a perm." Carla's display of subject-verb agreement is

more formal and may reflect her increased self-consciousness in response to Joyce's other-initiated repair. In line 14, Carla acknowledges Joyce's expertise by noting Joyce's need to make the final diagnosis. Carla states, "I mean you'll have to feel it." Here, Carla's *I mean* may potentially index her discomfort with her previous display of agency. In line 16, Joyce asks, "It's only been what?" in reference to the time of Carla's last perm or chemical treatment. Carla replies, "I don't know (.) Three weeks." Joyce states, "You shouldn't." Carla confirms, "I shouldn't need one huh." As Joyce begins to feel through Carla's hair, Carla asks, ">So what you gonna do?<" Note the similarity between the shape of Carla's question and Grace's question, "[<WHat you gon' do?> (.) You gon' make a bu:n (.) or you just gon'..." cited in Transcript 1 (see line 4). On the surface, these questions construct Joyce as expert and appear to give Joyce the ultimate power to diagnose Carla's hair treatment and/or style. In Carla's case, however, this possibility is mitigated as Carla follows this construction with a series of questions. Carla continues with, "Line me? >How much is a trim?< >Did you wanna trim?<" Up to this point, Carla has been indirect about her desire to assess cost. In fact, the question, "<How much is a trim?>" is Carla's first and only explicit reference to cost. Joyce laughs at Carla's line of questions as Carla turns to Lanita, winks and states, ">What you wanna do!<" Carla's playful behavior suggests that she may be cognizant of the inappropriateness of her direct and emphatic manner of questioning and the amusing nature in which it is being interpreted by Joyce and Lanita.

Carla's comment in line 30, "It's definitely dirty though girl (.1) whe:w," concedes to the need for a wash and any costs associated. Later, Joyce prepares to apply perm to Carla's hair. This moment marks the official start of Carla's hair treatment and it is not surprising that Carla makes another valiant attempt to assess the condition and her hair. Carla asks in lines 37-38, ">How's it look?< >How's it feelin?<" In response to Joyce's ensuing laughter and work withdrawal, Carla attributes her behavior to her sister, Kay, who often pays for her hair treatments. Carla exclaims, "KAY SAY, ASK HER A WHOLE LOT OF QUESTIONS TO GET YOUR HAIR DONE!" The *he-said-she-said* form of Carla's exclamation exposes Kay as the (alleged) instigator of her line of questions. However, Carla's comment in lines 42-44, "I'm just messin with you (.1) Go 'head on Joyce" is a conscious acknowledgment of her excessive questions which absolves her from any intention to irritate Joyce.

In line 52, Joyce's comment, "No it's just that you asked about seven questions *right* in a row" could be read as a complaint or, at the very least, Joyce's indirect acknowledgment of the rarity of such a series of questions from clients. Lanita joins in the laughter. Carla responds to Joyce's comment (and perhaps to her and Lanita's laughter) by complimenting herself, "I'm so good," after which she turns to Lanita and winks. In this way, Lanita also mediates the directness of Carla's line of questions. Through the wink, Carla establishes with Lanita and perhaps anyone who witnesses it, an understanding that what preceded was all performed in play. As Morgan (personal communication) notes, Carla

establishes a cultural contract that deresponsibilizes her for any possible intention to irritate or disrespect Joyce's professional status. Carla continues, "That's ma job girl," where she again attributes her questions to an outside influence, this time her job. However, Carla's laughter and animated tone is in conversation with Joyce and Lanita's laughter and marks that the negotiation has *fully* evolved into a form of verbal play. In lines 58-60, Carla reveals, "I work for a Workman's Comp Company (.1) I know how to ask," to which Joyce responds, "Oh La:::wd." Carla's concluding remarks, "I ask people all kind of stuff (.1) <When's Ya Last Day At Work?> (.1) <When You Get Hurt?> (.1) <Who Sent In The Paper?>," thus only serve to heighten the degree of laughter among the women in the salon.

SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

In client-hairdresser negotiations, women employ various discourse styles that mediate between the client's personal preferences and potential economic investment and the hairdresser's professional expertise, creative agency, and advertising potential. For African American women, whose hair is both politically-charged and interpreted (Mercer, 1994; hooks, 1994; Majors & Billson, 1992; Bonner, 1991; Chevannes, 1994; Levine, 1977), negotiations about hair also mediate the politics of African American hair and identity. The client-initiated negotiation analyzed above more boldly exemplifies the former and perhaps universal dynamic of client-hairdresser negotiations.

The client employs questioning and a *he-said-she-said* routine in her indirect effort to assess cost, as well as to trivialize or otherwise deflect the emphatic and direct nature of her questions. In doing the former, she violates her role expectations as a client in this Oakland salon and elicits laughter from Joyce and Lanita. The client's use of cultural contracts or disclaimers (i.e. "I'm just messin with you (.1) Go 'head on Joyce"), smile-voice intonation, and winks to trivialize her behavior is conversely an attempt to adhere to her client-role expectations. Retrospective participant insight support the hypothesis that this negotiation is a means through which Carla, the client, indirectly assesses cost, as well as the professional skill and integrity of Joyce, her hairdresser.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to Lena Brown, Alessandro Duranti, Stan Huey, Marcyliena Morgan, Elinor Ochs, Betsy Rymes, and Jennifer Schlegel for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. I am particularly grateful to Marcyliena Morgan, whose comments shaped several of the ideas presented here. Any shortcomings in this final version are, of course, my own.

² Straight hair, however, is not always viewed negatively in African American culture. In fact, prior to the Black Power Movement of the 60s which stressed "black as beautiful," straight hair was culturally, stylistically, and politically preferred among many African Americans.

³ Smitherman (1994) provides a lexicon of African American terms for hair. More curly hair texture is connoted, often negatively, in African American culture as "nappy" and may also be considered "bad hair." Contrastingly, "good hair" often refers to hair that is either straight, wavy, and/or retains a curl. "Kinky" has also been used to describe the curly texture of African American hair.

⁴ Sometimes women mark their children, spouses, boss, political figures in order to contextualize a negative or amusing description of these figures in their lives.

⁵ All names in this article (with the exception of my own) are pseudonyms.

⁶ Ellis (1994) notes that, since the 1920s, straightening hair in this way has constituted a ritual for many African American women who have pressed their hair and continue to do so for aesthetic, pragmatic, economic, social, or political reasons.

⁷ Both the cultural discourse of hair and the social significance of hair care has been documented in sociological studies of African American barbershops and beauty salons (cf. Drake & Clayton, 1970).

⁸ Transcript notations are as follows:

[a left-hand bracket indicates the onset of overlapping, simultaneous utterances.

(0.1) indicates a length of pause within and between utterances, timed in tenths of a second.

(()) double parentheses enclose nonverbal and other descriptive information.

() single parenthesis enclose words that are not clearly audible (i.e., best guesses).

___ underlining indicates stress on a syllable or word(s).

CAPS upper case indicates louder or shouted talk.

:

a colon indicates a lengthening of a sound, the more colons, the longer the sound

? a question mark indicates a rising intonation as a syllable or word ends

((smile voice)) indicates smile-voice intonation; marks talk which is delivered as though speaker was smiling.

> < the combination of "greater than" and "less than" symbols enclose words and/or talk that is compressed or rushed.

< > the combination of "less than" and "greater than" symbols enclose words and/or talk that is markedly slowed or drawn out.

< the "less than" symbol by itself indicates that the immediately following talk is "jump-started," i.e., sounds like starts off with a rush.

⁹ Sacks et al. (1974) describe turn constructional units as the various unit types which speaker may use to construct a turn. English TCUs may take the shape of a sentential, clausal, phrasal, or lexical construction.

¹⁰ With the bun freeze, gel is applied to the hair; hair is shaped in a bun, and this hairstyle is hardened under a dryer. This hairstyle can last for a couple weeks if properly tended. With the partial freeze, only the top of the hair is gelled into a bun and the back of the hair is curled. This style can last for several weeks.

¹¹ A "touch up" refers to a relaxer or a perm. Like the ritual of pressing hair with a "hot comb," perming or relaxing hair must be repeated within one to two months

after a client's chemical treatment. Hairdressers often decide to chemically treat a client's hair when the client's hair has returned to its original curly texture.

¹² Carla's son accompanied her on this visit and seemed eager to leave throughout their entire stay. As such, his pre-visit inquiry may have been an attempt to deter her trip.

¹³ Morgan (personal communication, 1995) notes that "I'm just messin with you" has been used by African American comedians and speakers in general to establish a cultural contract. Within the African American speech community, this disclaimer basically says "Forget everything I just said" and in doing so, absolves the speaker from any intentionality in his/her statement.

¹⁴ Though chemical touch-ups occur approximately once every two to three months, many clients with permed hairstyles typically visit the salon every two weeks to get their hair washed, blow-dried and styled. These clients are considered to be regulars.

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Aspect: A Linguistic Device to Convey Temporal Sequences in Discourse¹

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This study focuses on how -guo, a perfective aspect marker in Chinese, is used by native speakers to narrate a sequence of events in their speech. The study's analysis of transcribed audio-recorded natural conversation shows that -guo indicates a situation is viewed as a bounded whole with an emphasis on the end-boundary of the situation. The discourse motivation for a speaker to use -guo is to end the situation that -guo co-occurs with and then directs the hearer's attention to the next situation. The discourse level analysis also clarifies the confusion between the analysis of -guo and another perfective particle -le in traditional studies of the Chinese aspect system: -guo is usually treated as an Experiential marker to avoid an analysis with two Perfectives. This study shows that the confusion in traditional studies stems from the limitations of sentence level analyses.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on how the Chinese (Mandarin) aspect particle -guo is used by native speakers to narrate the sequence of events in their speech. Based upon an analysis of audio-recorded and transcribed natural conversation data, this study analyzes -guo as a Perfective marker which indicates a situation (including an action or an event depicted by the verb, following Comrie, 1976) is viewed as a bounded whole with an emphasis on the end-boundary of the situation. Thus, the discourse motivation for a speaker to use -guo is to close up the situation that -guo co-occurs with and then allow the discourse to move on to the next situation.

One explicit case of the necessity to analyze naturally occurring data is also provided in this study. Traditionally, Chinese -guo is treated as an Experiential marker while -le is treated as the only Perfective marker. However, one common methodological problem among the existing studies of -guo and -le is that all these studies are based on isolated sentences. If both -guo and -le mark Perfective (as proposed in this study), they are used for narrating sequences of events in which the situation is reported independent of its relevance to other

situations (Hopper, 1982). Since each of the isolated sentences usually contains only one situation, when it is used with Perfective *-guo* or *-le*, it is viewed as bounded whole without temporal relevance to other situations. Therefore in sentence level analysis it is impossible to differentiate the grammatical distinction between *-guo* and *-le*. The discourse scope analysis in this study overcomes the limitations of sentence level analysis and therefore clarifies the confusion of the Perfective vs. Experiential analysis in the traditional studies of the Chinese aspect system. The study also explains the difference between the *-guo* Perfective and the general *-le* Perfective based on their different discourse functions. The discourse level functional analysis in this study may also provide a new methodological direction of linguistic study for non-inflectional languages.

TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVES AND THE DISCOURSE MOTIVATION FOR USING PERFECTIVE ASPECT

Temporal perspective is a term used by Andersen (1994) which refers to the notion that speakers always take personal perspectives on the information they are placing into the on-going discourse; and they can skillfully use linguistic and non-linguistic devices to convey their temporal perspective in natural speaking. This study combines research on tense-mood-aspect (TMA) marking in narratives (cf. Labov, 1972; Schiffrin, 1981; Silva-Corvalan, 1983) and research on the grammar of the TMA system, including formal (Smith, 1991) and functional (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Bybee & Dahl, 1989) approaches. In this framework the traditional terms of tense, mood, and aspect are no longer considered as three separate categories. Any given grammatical TMA form, which constitutes only a part of the much larger repertoire of devices, is considered as a linguistic device which is used by speakers to indicate their temporal perspectives in a given discourse context.

Perfective is an aspect which marks a situation as a bounded whole without referring to the internal temporal constituency of the situation (Comrie, 1976). To illustrate perfective aspect, Comrie used the English sentence "John was reading when I entered" (1976:3) as an example. He suggested that the second verb presents the event (my entry) as a bounded whole without reference to its internal temporal constituency and therefore has perfective meaning. This perfective meaning is expressed by special verbal forms in some languages other than English and those special verbal forms are referred to as perfective aspect markers.

The discourse function of the perfective aspect is also well documented (Hopper, 1979; 1982; Li, Thompson, & Thompson, 1982). Hopper suggests that perfective is the aspect used for narrating sequences of discrete events in which the situation is reported for its own sake, independent of its relevance to

other situations. In narratives, the perfective is used with foreground clauses which present the events in the same temporal order as their succession in the real world.

Chinese is one of the languages which grammatically marks perfective aspect. Aspect marking in Chinese, though, is considered optional (Li & Thompson, 1981). It is optional in the sense that verbs can appear in the clauses without any TMA markings. With this non-obligatory nature, the time frame and temporal sequence of the discourse are mainly established and maintained by time phrases and temporal adverbials. The purpose for speakers to choose a grammatical form, as Andersen (1994) proposed, is to express their thoughts in a "quick and easy" manner. The speakers can choose to use certain TMA markers to economically organize their speech with a coherent temporal sequence, such as using the Perfective post-verbal particle *-le* as a foregrounding device while using the Perfect sentence-final particle *le* to inject background information (Hopper, 1979; Li, Thompson, & Thompson, 1982). The following excerpt is a narrative taken from my audio-recorded data which illustrates the discourse function of the Perfective *-le*, as an example of how the general perfective aspect functions in spoken Chinese:

(1) "Maid service agency" (CGW)²

((Context: This is a group conversation among three participants: River, May, and Stu (who didn't speak in this excerpt). The primary story teller is River, who is telling a story about the boss of a maid service agency. The boss is a new reference to May and Stu.))

River:

- 1 *ta na ge baomu jieshoshuo de laoban bentai jiu shi baomu*
3sg that MW maid agency DE boss originally just be maid
"The boss of the agency originally was a maid."
- 2 *houlai ziji chengli baomu . nuyong zhongxin*
then self open maid maid center
"Then she opened her own agency,"
- 3 *gu le yi ge ren* <==
hire -LE one MW person
"(and) hired a person."
- 4 *jiu shi ta*
just be 3sg
"That was him."

May:

- 5 (laughter)

River:

- 6 *zuo le*
work -LE
"(He) worked—" (?)

- 7 *houlai fazhan de hen kuai a*
 then develop DE very fast SFP
 "Then (the business) grew very fast."
- 8 *cai ban nian zhe ge baomu jiu kai Lexus che le*
 only half year this MW maid already drive CS car LE
 "In only half a year, the (former) maid had a Lexus car."
- 9 (laughter)

River:

- 10 *jiu ba ta fire diao le* <==
 then BA 3sg CS off -LE
 "Then, (the boss) fired him."

In this excerpt, the following situations are presented by the speaker River in sequential order: 'the former maid opened her own agency (line 1-2), 'hired one person' (line 3), and 'fired the person' (line 10). The Perfective *-le* (line 3 and 10) is used with the foreground clauses to present the events in temporal order. The rest of this paper will demonstrate that *-guo* also has the basic function of a Perfective, with a special emphasis on the end-boundary.³

-GUO: EXPERIENTIAL VS. PERFECTIVE

The post-verbal particle *-guo* has been suggested as an Experiential marker in most studies (cf. Ma, 1977; Li & Thompson, 1981; Dahl, 1985). Li and Thompson (1981) present a very detailed description of the Experiential *-guo*. They suggest that *-guo* signals that an event has been experienced (at least once) with respect to some reference time. This reference time is usually left unspecified and *-guo*, in this case, indicates that "the event has been experienced at least once at some indefinite time, which is usually the indefinite past" (p. 228). For example:

- (2a) *Ta qunian dao Zhongguo qu guo.*
 3sg last.year to China go -GUO
 "S/He went to China last year."
 (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 228)

Li and Thompson have based their discussion of *-guo* upon the contrast between *-guo* and the Perfective particle *-le*; most of the examples they provide are minimal pairs using *-guo* and *-le*. Their reason for linking the two particles together is that *-guo* and *-le* are clearly semantically related and there are sentence pairs which are nearly indistinguishable. However, their focus is to differentiate the "Experiential" *-guo* from the Perfective *-le*. For example, (2b) is the minimal pair Li and Thompson provide for (2a).

- (2b) *Ta qunian dao Zhongguo qu le.*
 3sg last.year to China go -LE
 "S/He went to China last year."
 (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 228)

According to their analysis, *-guo* in sentence (2a) is changed into *-le* in (2b) because of the fact that the event 'go to China' has happened, nothing is said about whether s/he is still there. (2a), however, suggests that the event took place at least once and is now over. Thus they have concluded that *-guo* is an Experiential marker which signals that an event has been experienced at least once and that *-le* is a Perfective marker which typically conveys the message that the event took place. This *-le* Perfective and *-guo* Experiential analysis has been widely accepted in the field of Chinese linguistics.

One important thing which should be pointed out in the Li and Thompson study is that their analysis of *-guo* referring to 'indefinite past' was influenced by early studies (Jahontov, 1957; Chao, 1968). Since "aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the situation" (Comrie, 1976, p.5), *-guo* in fact has nothing to do with the external time reference. Here I would like to point out an example in which *-guo* is used in a 'future' context:

- (3) *Ni gen ta jian-guo ji ci jiu shu le.*
 you with 3sg see -GUO a few MW then familiar LE
 "After you have met him a few times, you will be better acquainted."
 (Chao, 1968, pp. 312-13)

While the Experiential analysis is overwhelmingly accepted in the field, Dahl (1985) notes that the *-guo* Experiential in Chinese is an unusual category among the world's languages. From his typological study of TMA, Dahl reports that Experiential is a "relatively uncommon category" and is a peripheral category (no language in his sample uses a morphological construction) in the TMA systems. However, his analysis suggests that only Chinese Experiential is a very distinct category because of the consistent use of the highly grammaticized particle *-guo*.

Since Dahl's (1985) study is based on a survey of a large number of languages, he reports the unusual characteristic of the *-guo* Experiential which is observed in his data without further questioning the widely accepted Experiential analysis of *-guo*. Iljic (1990), however, directly questions the Experiential analysis of *-guo* in his study. He points out that *-guo* can be used in a situation where the emphasis of the sentence is not focused on the experiences of the subject. For example, in sentence (4) the emphasis is on the inventory of actions the agent did to help his mom during a given period of time.

- (4) *Xingqitian ni bang mama zuo-guo na xie shi ya?*
 Sunday you help mom do -GUO which some affair SFP
 "What did you do on Sunday to help your mom?"

Given the use of *-guo* in sentences like (4), Iljic suggests that *-guo* always implies discontinuity between the event and the point of reference. In contrast, *-le* generally expresses continuity between the event and the point of reference. For example:

- (5a) *Zhuozi shang fang guo yi ben shu.*
 table on put -GUO one MW book
 "A book was/had been placed on the table."
 (It isn't there anymore.)
- (5b) *Zhuozi shang fang le yi ben shu.*
 table on put -LE one MW book
 "A book was/has been placed on the table."
 (Somebody has put it on the table and it is still there.)

Huang and Davis (1989) present another study which clearly suggests that labeling *-guo* as an Experiential aspect is too narrow. Example (6a), they suggest, does not emphasize someone having had some experience.

- (6a) *Gou gangcai chi guo ni de pingguo.*
 dog just now eat -GUO you DE apple
 "The dog just took a bite of your apple."
- (6b) *Gou gangcai chi le ni de pingguo.*
 dog just now eat -LE you DE apple
 "The dog just ate your apple."

Since the focus of the Huang and Davis study is *-le*, they also put much emphasis on the contrast between *-guo* and *-le*. They analyze the contrast between (6a) and (6b) by concluding that *-guo* in (6a) denotes a partial occurrence or complement of the situation while *-le* in (6b) indicates a total completion of the situation—the apple is gone.

Another contrast between *-guo* and *-le* suggested by Huang and Davis is that a situation used with *-guo* no longer holds, but if it is used with *-le* it lacks this implication. For example:

- (7a) *Wo kai guo hui le.*
 I attend -GUO meeting LE
 "I have attended the meeting." (now free to turn his/her attention to some other activity.)
- (7b) *Wo kai le hui le.*
 I attend -LE meeting LE
 "I have attended the meeting."

In (7a), the situation 'to attend a meeting' is over, therefore, the agent can move to the next event. This analysis is similar to Iljic's analysis that *-guo* implies discontinuity. But in the case of *-le* (7b), their analysis suggests that whether the situation still holds or not is not specified. This view contrasts with Iljic's analysis that *-le* emphasizes the continuity.

The most interesting facet of Huang and Davis' analysis is their attempt to put *-guo* and *-le* in the same category—Perfective. Perfectivity "involves lack of

reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation, rather than explicitly implying the lack of such temporal constituency" (Comrie, 1976, p. 21). Thus, the perfective signals a situation is viewed as a bounded whole; and any bounded situation should have two boundaries: left (beginning) and right (end) boundary (see Figure 1 below).

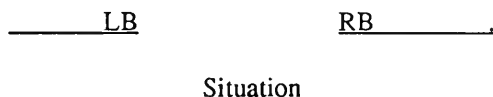


Figure 1: Situation, LB, and RB (Huang & Davis, 1989)

Huang and Davis propose that both *-le* and *-guo* signal the presence of an interruption. In the case of *-guo*, it emphasizes the interruption following the right boundary (RB) of the situation; in the case of *-le*, it focuses on either the left boundary (LB) or the right boundary. This proposal concurs with Smith's (1991) analysis that *-le* is the general Perfective and *-guo* is a language specific Perfective in Chinese.

-GUO PERFECTIVE AND -LE PERFECTIVE

From a cross-linguistic perspective, it is not uncommon for one language to have more than one perfective grammatical morpheme (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994). Indeed, both the Chinese *-guo* and *-le* are along the cross-linguistic grammaticization pathway proposed by Bybee et al. (1994). In their framework, perfective and/or past have evolved from anterior (also known as perfect), which in turn has developed from two pathways: the resultative, which has a lexical source of stative verbs such as 'have' and 'be'; and the completive, which has a lexical source of dynamic verbs such as 'finish,' 'come,' and 'go.' The two Chinese Perfective particles *-le* and *-guo* both have a dynamic verb as their semantic source. The dynamic verb *liao* (finish) has developed into a "completive" *liao* which is used in a verb compound (Smith, 1991). When *liao* with the completive meaning is further abstracted along the pathway, it developed into the sentence-final particle '*le*' (Perfect/Anterior) and the post-verbal particle '*-le*' (Perfective) and became more grammaticized: it lost its semantic function and showed phonetic reduction—the vowel reduced to [ə] and the tone became neutral. Another dynamic verb *guo* (cross/pass) was first evolved into a "completive" *guo* used in a verb compound with an optional fourth tone and a strong semantic color (Smith, 1991). Then it developed into the Perfective *-guo*: It reduced to a neutral tone and lost its semantic meaning

therefore it can only be attached to the main verb to indicate grammatical meanings. Figure 2 illustrates the evolution of Perfective in Chinese.

Dynamic Verbs:

liao (finish), *guo* (cross/pass), and others with the meaning of finish/complete

—> completive —> Anterior (*le*) —> Perfective (*-guo*, *-le*)
(an open class,
not grammaticized)

Figure 2: The Evolution of Perfective in Chinese

Both Huang and Davis' (1989) proposal that *-guo* is a Perfective marker which emphasizes the end-boundary of the situation and Smith's (1991) treatment of *-guo* as a language specific Perfective in Chinese can be supported by Bybee et al.'s (1994) grammaticization framework and also by the non-inflectional feature of Chinese. Bybee et al.'s framework proposes that the grammatical meaning of grammatical morphemes are derived from the semantic meaning of the source verb. Since non-inflectional languages such as Chinese are more conservative of the source form of their grammatical morphemes than other more inflectional languages seem to be (Howard & Wang 1995; Bisang, 1995), the end-boundary emphasis function of *-guo* is clearly derivable from its lexical source (the 'cross/pass' meaning of the dynamic verb *guo*). The fact that *-le* is more phonetically reduced than *-guo* is also an indication that *-le* is a more abstract and more general grammatical form.

PERFECTIVE *-GUO* IN NATURAL SPOKEN DISCOURSE

The discourse data used in this study are taken from transcribed audio-recorded conversations among native Chinese speakers. The data constitute a variety of conversational situations including group conversation, telephone conversation, and telephone interview. All the speakers are originally from Mainland China and received their college education there. All data are recorded in the U.S.

As proposed earlier in this paper, the discourse function of Perfective *-guo* in Chinese is to emphasize the end-boundary of a situation.

(8) "Visiting Disneyland" (WK:2)

((Context: A telephone conversation between Stu and Rose. In the previous discourse, Stu tried to convince Rose to visit Disneyland. Starting at the beginning of this excerpt, he is giving Rose another reason to visit.))

Stu:

- 01 *er erqie nizhidao*
an- and you know
"And, you know,"
- 02 *suoyou de neixie Zhongguo de maoyi daibiaotuan lai*
all DE those China DE trade delegation come
"All those Chinese business delegations come—"
- 03 *xiang KY tamen nayang de tuan lai*
like (name) they kind DE delegation come
"(when) the delegation like the one KY went with comes—"

Rose:

- 04 *wo zhidao wo zhidao*
I know I know
"I know, I know."
- 05 *suoyi zhege shi wo zui bu yao qu de*
therefore this be I -est not want go SFP
"So this is the biggest reason that I don't want to go."

Stu:

- 06 *dui tamen mei yi ci ta jiushishuo mei yi ci lai*
right they every one MW 3sg like every one MW come
dou qu
always go
"Right. Every time when they come, they always go (to Disneyland)."
- 07 *en yinwei wo mama you yi ge pengyou*
en because I mom have one MW friend
"My mom has a friend."
- 08 *ta ta lai hao ji ci le*
3sg 3sg come many several MW LE
"She (the friend) has been here several times."
- 09 *ta shuo wo mei yi ci lai dou qunar*
3sg say I every one MW come always go there
"She (the friend) said 'Every time I always go there (Disneyland).'"
- 10 *weishenme ne*
why SFP
"Why?"
- 11 *yinwei daibiaotuan li de ren shi bu tong de*
because delegation within DE people be different SFP
"Because (each time) the members of the delegation are different."

Rose:

12 en en
 uh-huh
 "Uh-huh."

Stm:

13 *ta shi qu guo le* <==
 3sg be go -GUO LE
 "She had gone there before."

14 *daduoshu bieren dou meiyou qu guo* <==
majority others all not go -GUO
"But other people (from different delegations) had never gone (there)."

15 *zongshi anpai liang ge difang*
always arrange two MW place
"Two places are always arranged for them (to go)."

16 yi ge shi en ... zheige Disneyland
 one MW be en ... this CS
 "One is Disneyland,"

17 *hai yi ge shi Ducheng*
also one MW be Las Vegas
"the other is Las Vegas."

Rose:

18 *ao Ducheng.*
 en Las Vegas
 "Uh, Las Vegas."

Stu:

19 *Ducheng ma*
 Las Vegas SFP
 "Las Vegas"

The topic of this segment is "visiting Disneyland." Before line 13, the visitation is talked about in a rather generic way. Starting at line 07, the situation of 'the person's visiting of Disneyland' is almost habitually repeated in the past (no emphasis of 'at least once'), and will probably happen many times in the future (no indication of 'no longer true'). In line 13, the use of *-guo* clearly emphasizes the end-boundary of the situation. This emphasis implies that the situation took place (or had been experienced) in the past. In line 14 *-guo* is used in exactly the same manner, but this time in a negative structure.

While a speaker uses *-guo* to emphasize the end-boundary of the situation, the "experienced" meaning is naturally inferable from the discourse context. For example:

(9) "Move in" (CGW)

((Context: This is the same group conversation among River, May, and Stu. River and May are co-telling a story about how River was asked by a friend to move in with him.))

May:

- 1 *na ge shihou*
that MW time
"By that time..."
- 2 *ni shi ni shi haoxiang gen wo shuodao guo de* <==
you be you be seem to I mention -GUO DE
"You seemed to have mentioned to me,"
- 3 *na ge ren yitiandaowan jiao ni dao ta jiali*
that MW person everyday ask you go 3sg home
"that everyday the guy asked you to move into his home."
- 4 *ni hai dao ta jiali qukan guo* <==
you even go 3sg home go look -GUO
"You even went over and looked at the house."
- 5 *dui bu dui*
right not right
"Right?"

River:

- 6 *dui ta jiao wo guoqu zhu ai*
right 3sg ask I go live SFP
"Yeah, he asked me to move in."

May:

- 7 *yizai xiwang ni guoqu zhu*
again and again hope you go live
"Again and again he wanted you to move in."
- 8 *dui ba*
right SFP
"Right?"

In this segment, May asks River why his friend wanted him to move in. May has used *-guo* twice to emphasize the end-boundaries of the two situations: 'mention' in line 2 and 'look' in line 4. The clear marking of the end-boundaries signals that both narrated situations are (separately) completed and that the discourse is ready to move to a different situation—his failure to move in. The implication of the situations that 'mention' and 'look' have been experienced at least once is very clear in this context.

While a speaker uses *-guo* to emphasize the end-boundary, it may additionally mark 'discontinuity' in particular narrative contexts. For example:

(10) "Maid service agency" (CGW)

((This is the same three-person group conversation. The narrative in line 3 -16 is quoted earlier as example (1). River is the primary speaker who is describing a business plan he had with one of his friends. The excerpt starts with a story of that friend.))

River:

- 1 *yi yiqian na ge Zhenjiang ren*
be before that MW PLACE person
"Before, the guy from Zhenjiang ..."
- 2 *zai baomu jieshaosuo zuo guo yiduan shijian* <==
in maid agency work -GUO a short time
"(He) worked for a maid service agency for a short time."
- 3 *ta na ge baomu jieshaosuo de laoban benlai jiu shi baomu*
3sg that MW maid agency DE boss originally just be maid
"The boss of the agency originally was a maid."
- 4 *houlai ziji chengli baomu . nuyong zhongxin*
then self open maid maid center
"Then she opened her own agency,"
- 5 *gu le yi ge ren*
hire -LE one MW person
"(and) hired a person."
- 6 *jiu shi ta*
just be 3sg
"That was him."

May:

- 7 (laughter)

River:

- 8 *zuo le ..*
work -LE ..
"(He) worked—" (?)
- 9 *houlai fazhan de hen kuai a*
then develop DE very fast SFP
"Then (the business) grew very fast."
- 10 *cai ban nian zhe ge baomu jiu kai Lexus che le*
only half year this MW maid already drive CS car LE
"In only half a year, the (former) maid had a Lexus car."
- 11 (laughter)

River:

- 12 *jiu ba ta fire diao le*
then BA 3sg CS off LE
"Then, (the boss) fired him."

May:

- 13 *nu de haishi nan de*
 female DE or be male DE
 "Is (the boss) a woman or a man?"

River:

- 14 *nu de*
 female DE
 "A woman."
- 15 *na ge nu de benlai jiu shi baomu ai*
 that MW female DE originally just be maid SFP
 "She was a maid originally."

May:

- 16 *ao*
 I see
 "I see."

River:

- 17 *na women shangliang yixia*
 then we discuss a.little
 "Then, we (River and his friend) talked a little bit,"
- 18 *ye yao kai*
 also want open (a maid agency)
 "(and) wanted to open our own agency."

The eventual topic of this segment is about River and his friend who want to open their own maid service agency. *-Guo* in line 2 emphasizes the end-boundary of the situation—'worked in a maid service agency.' This emphasis allows the speaker to close this situation and move to the second situation—'the richness of the owner of a maid agency.' In the real speech event, the second situation digresses into another narrative (line 3 -16) and makes the discontinuity implication of the first situation very significant. Then, in line 17 the speaker uses the word "then" to lead the segment to a conclusion: 'open our own agency.'

It is noteworthy that the adverb "then" in line 17 is used to indicate temporal sequence in discourse as well. When there is no grammatical form available, the speakers may then use time phrase and/or adverbials to establish time frames and indicate temporal sequences. Taken together, all these linguistic devices allow speakers to verbally present their thoughts with a coherent temporal reference.

With a larger discourse context as seen in the above examples, *-guo* clearly exhibits a perfective function with an emphasis on the end-boundary of the situation. The discourse motivation of using *-guo* is to close the situation with which *-guo* co-occurs, allowing the discourse to move to the next situation.

CONCLUSION

The discourse level analysis of this study shows that the Perfective particle *-guo* is one of the linguistic devices used by a native speaker of Chinese to indicate the temporal sequence of the speech. The discourse motivation of using *-guo* is to close the situation and therefore direct the hearer's attention to the next situation in the continued discourse. With this function, *-guo* allows the speakers to organize discrete discourse situations more efficiently.

There are also other TMA markers in Chinese which can be used as linguistic devices to present temporal sequence in discourse. Closely linked to *-guo*, the Perfective *-le* is the general foregrounding device. Speakers can choose between the two Perfective markers based upon their temporal perspectives in the particular discourse context. The functional similarities between *-guo* and *-le* and the general scholastic agreement that postverbal *-le* marks Perfective in Chinese has forced the analysis of *-guo* into other directions (e.g., Experiential) (Iljic, 1990). When *-guo* sentences and *-le* sentences are isolated from their discourse context, as treated in the traditional Chinese linguistic studies, there is then no contextual information which can show how speakers use the two aspect markers to take different temporal perspectives. To be able to obtain a clear interpretation of the isolated *-guo* sentences, contextual time frames are usually constructed and therefore a relative tense (Comrie, 1985) category—Experiential—is assigned to the aspect particle *-guo*. A discourse level functional analysis can not only clarify the confusion between the two Chinese Perfective markers, but also point out the methodological importance of analyzing naturally occurring data in language studies.

APPENDIX: SYMBOLS IN CHINESE GLOSSES

BA:	<i>Ba</i>
CS:	Code Switching
DE:	<i>De</i>
MW:	Measure Word
SFP:	Sentence-Final Particle
3sg:	Third person singular pronoun

NOTES

¹ I would like to thank the UCLA tense-mood-aspect working group headed by Professor Roger Andersen, for their input and inspiration. I would also like to thank Kathy Howard for her input in the final version of this paper.

² See appendix for the symbols used in the Chinese glosses.

³ Notice the 'le' in line 8 is the Perfect marker and it injects the background information 'drove a Lexus—very rich' into the on-going discourse (Li, Thompson & Thompson, 1982). The Perfect *le* is not the focus of this study.

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Joint Attention in a Father-Child-Mother Triad: A Chinese-American Case Study

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This paper presents an exploratory study of joint attention in a father-child-mother triad in a Chinese-American family. The study examines how the parents of a two-year-old child elicit and sustain the attention of the child during mundane activities such as playing an educational game and telling a story. In the activities, triadic interactions are fostered by the following factors: (1) the arrangement of artifacts and spaces for participant interactions; (2) the blending of artifacts of western culture with Chinese culture; (3) the complementary roles of the parents with respect to the input they provide to the child; (4) the use of affective morphology to convey intersubjectivity and shared knowledge; and (5) the use of nonvocal linguistic cues such as gestures and eye gaze. These factors interactively contribute to joint attention, which constitutes an essential part of a child's language development, social cognition, and cultural learning.

INTRODUCTION

Attention is a socializable phenomenon that usually begins very early in a child's life. Language is presumably and ineluctably used as an essential tool for socializing attention, whether it is used vocally in the form of verbal utterance or nonvocally in the form of body gestures. One noted strategy for socializing attention, which employs both verbal and gestural (nonvocal) language, is triadic interaction. Barton & Tomasello (1991) investigate joint attentional interactions among family members through videotaping nine 19-month-old infants and nine 24-month-old infants in free play with their mothers and preschool-aged siblings around common activities. The results show that in their interactions, triadic conversations are almost three times longer than dyadic conversations, and they elicit twice as many infant turns per conversation. These results suggest that a triadic context differs from a mother-infant dyadic context in that it provides a richer language learning environment than previously supposed.

The current exploratory study investigates attention socialization of a Chinese-American infant through interactions between her and her parents. Such triadic interactions in two activities, i.e., playing a puzzle game and telling a

story, were videotaped to examine how the parents elicit and sustain the attention of their child in these activities.

PARTICIPANTS AND SETTING

The participants in this study are members of a Chinese-American family consisting of a father, a mother, and a daughter. The father is a postdoctoral fellow in the field of engineering at a major university in California, and the mother is a college graduate who does not work outside the home. She takes care of her daughter at home. The daughter was twenty months old at the time of the game activity, and she was twenty-four months old at the time of the story activity.

The participants live in a university family student apartment near campus. Their residence reflects a blend of Chinese culture and western culture.¹ There are two western-style sofas in different corners of their living room. The room is also equipped with modern appliances such as a television and a stereo system. There are two scrolls hanging on the wall. Each of them consists of picturesque calligraphy in Chinese brush. Together they form a couplet that constitutes the aphorism: "Discipline oneself; Have a clear conscience." This aphorism connotes the epitome of Chinese cultural value and shared belief. It is a common practice in Chinese culture to transform 'words of wisdom' into an artistic display as a constant reminder of the Chinese way of thinking. The living room, the dining room, and the kitchen are all kept immaculate, with no toys lying on the floor, no crumbs on the tables, and no stains on the walls.

The child's bedroom is, on the other hand, diametrically opposed to the public quarters of the residence. The walls in her room are ornately adorned with colorful pictures, animated cartoon figures, various shapes of numbers and letters, and custom-framed photographs of the child at different stages of her growth. The edge of her bed against the wall is arrayed with a menagerie of stuffed animals. The floor abounds with toys, games, picture books, and a copious collection of alphabetic materials that reveal the living quarter of an abecedarian. Most of the materials in the child's room are patently western products. The only obviously Chinese influence is the few story books on aquatic plants and animals written in simple Chinese and a wooden puzzle game of numbers in Chinese characters.

The westernized environment vis-a-vis the Chinese environment in the participants' residence exemplifies a Chinese-American family's child rearing practice. It appears to be the intention of the parents to construct a bicultural environment for their daughter so they can provide 'the best of both worlds' for her learning experience. This dovetail of western and Chinese cultures is ostensive in their interactions with her, as depicted in the following sections.

TRIADIC INTERACTIONS

In this case study of joint attention, father-child-mother triadic interactions in the form of common activities such as playing games, coloring pictures, telling stories, and the like were videotaped. This paper focuses on self-contained segments of two activities, one involving playing a puzzle game and the other, telling a story. In the activities, it is observed that the following factors contribute to joint attention in the triadic interactions: syncretism of cultures, the built environment, distribution of labor, affective morphology, and gestures and eye gaze. These factors are mutually influential and interdependent in the activities.

According to Lawrence and Low (1990), "people both create, and find their behavior influenced by, the built environment....The built environment is an abstract concept employed here and in some of the literature to describe the products of human building activity. It refers in the broadest sense to any physical alteration of the natural environment, from hearths to cities, through construction by humans...it includes built forms...spaces that are defined and bounded, but not necessarily enclosed" (p. 454). Such forms are observed in this study. In the activities, participant interactions are influenced by the built environment in the form of the arrangement of artifacts and spaces.

Figure 1 shows that the built environment for the puzzle game activity is constructed specifically for the intended interaction. The puzzle is arranged in an open space on the living room floor. The participants can sit along all four sides of the puzzle as well as step on it. The parents situate themselves on the same side of the puzzle, and the child sits down on the puzzle between them. This positioning facilitates joint attention. The child can face either parent and be within reach of puzzle pieces at the same time.

In telling a story (Figure 2), the built environment includes a couch in its accustomed place. The child is seated between her parents, which allows both parents to interact with her simultaneously. The other artifacts include the story book that the father is holding and the teddy bear in the child's arms. They serve as tools or props for the reading activity.

Syncretism in the activities involves the blending of artifacts of different cultures, here American culture and Chinese culture. For example, the puzzle pieces are in English letters, and the story is also written in English. However, the participants speak in the Chinese language to play the puzzle game and discuss the story. This syncretic experience facilitates interaction in that the parents are able to introduce the child to the English language by way of the Chinese language. The child learns the Chinese language as her first language. Since she does not attend any day care, her exposure to English is limited to such activities with her parents. By understanding her parents' instruction in



Figure 1. Puzzle Game



Figure 2. Story Telling

Chinese, she is better able to pay attention to her parents and develop interest in the game and the story in the process of acquiring the English language and American culture.

Another factor that contributes to joint attention is the distribution of labor between the parents. The study reveals that the roles of the father and the mother in the activities are complementary with respect to their input to their child. In both activities, the father acts as the content planner and decision maker, while the mother provides suggestions and positive evaluation of the child's performance.

In the puzzle game, for example, the father puts all the puzzle pieces on his side, and he decides which puzzle piece his daughter should work on. The mother assumes the role of coaching her daughter to pay attention to her father's instruction, to respond to his request, and to solve a problem initiated by him. During story telling, the father holds the book and asks his daughter questions about the story in the book. The mother supports the father by providing paralinguistic cues and gestures to her daughter to help her answer her father's questions.

A salient feature that emerges from the triadic interactions is the use of affective morphology by the parents to convey their attitude with respect to praise, warning, agreement, and so forth. Affective morphology is often used to convey a speaker's attitude, feeling, stance, and disposition (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Haviland, 1989; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989; Ohta, 1994). Affective morphology in the form of particle is used in spoken Chinese. It is an essential part of the Chinese language and culture.

In the Chinese language, an affective particle² has a *relational*, rather than a referential, meaning (Hsu, 1995, 1996a & 1996b). That is, it does not have an abstract reference or root lexical meaning. For example, the word 'put' in English has a referential meaning of transferring something (Shirai, 1990), whether it means placing an object in a certain location, e.g., "Put the book on the table," or whether it is used metaphorically, e.g., "Put your trouble behind you." On the other hand, an affective particle often lacks an independent, denotative or referential meaning. It gains its relational meaning by associating with an utterance or proposition in discourse to convey the speaker's affect. Therefore, an affective particle is essentially discourse-dependent, and it is often difficult to pinpoint its meaning without a discourse context. In Chinese culture, affective particles play an important role in interactions among family members and among people who are familiar with one another or who have intimate relationships. Hence, Chinese children acquire the knowledge and the use of affective morphology at a very young age through language socialization. Such socialization process is also present in other cultures (e.g., Ochs, 1986 & 1988).³

In this study, the parents use affective particles such as *o* and *a* in the activities to elicit and maintain the child's attention. Take, for instance, the puzzle game activity. In this activity, the participants are playing a puzzle game

in the living room. A puzzle mat and many puzzle pieces of letters and numbers are laid out on the floor (see Figure 1). The game involves fitting the pieces of letters and numbers into the puzzle mat. During the game, the parents use English to call the letters in the English alphabet, and they use Chinese to call the numbers in Roman numerals. Although the child hardly speaks in this activity, she is attentive to her mother's use of affective particles, as evident in her nonvocal interactions and responses to her parents in the following excerpt.⁴

Excerpt 1: Puzzle Game

Ch: Child (20 months old)
Fa: Father
Mo: Mother

- 01 Mo [*ling fang nali*
zero place where
"Where does zero go?"
- 02 Ch [*((takes the puzzle piece '0' from her father's hand))*]
- 03 → Mo *ziji zhaozhaokan o::*
self look-around AP
"Look for it yourself."
- 04 Ch [*((fits '0' in the correct slot))*]
- 05 [*((turns around and looks at her mother))*]
- 06 Mo [*(zhaozhaokan)*
look-around
"Look for it."
- 07 Fa [*hm*]
- 08 → Mo *ei::* [*ya xiaqu a::*
ri::ght press down AP
"Right, press it down."
- 09 Fa [() *ya*
press
"Press it."
- 10 Mo *zenme qiaoqilai*
why stick-up
"Why's it sticking up?"
- 11 Ch [*((presses '0' down))*]
- 12 Fa *huh?*

- 13 → Mo *he:: hao bang o:::*
 ri::ght very good AP
 "Right, good job."
- 14 (0.5)
- 15 Fa *yayiya (.) yayiya ((presses 'O' down))*
 press press
 "Press it down, press it down."
- 16 ((pushes 'O' down with a bang))
- 17 *na hai you ne*
 then still exist INT
 "How about some more?"
- 18 *'A' ne ((hands the puzzle piece 'A' to the child))*
 'A' INT
 "How about 'A'?"
- 19 Mo *'A' zai nali*
 'A' LOC where
 "Where's 'A'?"
- 20 Fa *'A':*
- 21 Mo *zhaozhaokan*
 look-around
 "Look for it."
- 22 Ch ((takes 'A' from her father))

In line 03, the mother adds the particle *o* to her instruction to her daughter, "Look for it yourself." This emphatic particle functions as a friendly warning or command. The daughter responds to her mother by fitting the puzzle piece 'O' in the correct slot (line 04). In line 08, the mother again tags an affective particle to her instruction to her daughter, "Press it down." The particle *a* in this line also has an emphatic function. In this case, it intensifies or emphasizes the urgency/importance of the command or request. Hence, line 08 can alternatively be translated as follows: "Right, go ahead, press it down, won't you?" In response to the request, the daughter presses 'O' down (line 11). After the daughter performs as desired by her mother, her mother praises her by saying, "Right, good job," followed by the particle *o* (line 13). In this case, the particle *o* following a praise intensifies the praise, and hence, shows solidarity between the participants.

Affective particles are also used in the story telling activity as denoted in boldface in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 2: Story Telling

Ch: Child (24 months old)
 Fa: Father
 Mo: Mother

- 01 Mo *wai[mian zenme le* ((points at a picture))
 outside how ASP
 "What's going on outside?"
- 02 Fa *[waimian zenme le*
 outside how ASP
 "What's going on outside?"
- 03 Mo *[xiao xiong xiong*
 little bear bear
 "Little bear..."
- 04 Ch *[xue:::*
 sno:::w
 "Snow."
- 05 Fa *[xia xue le*
 fall snow ASP
 "It's snowing."
- 06 → Mo *[xia xue le o::*
 fall snow ASP AP
 "It's snowing."
- 07 Fa *huh?*
- 08 *a xiong xiong*
 then bear bear
 "Then the bear,"
- 09 (0.5)
- 10 *xiao xiong xiong gen xiong mama shuo shenme*
 little bear bear and bear mother say what
 "What did the little bear say to the mother bear?"
- 11 Ch *((puts her teddy bear on her father's lap))*
- 12 Fa *[shuo*
 say
 "Say..."
- 13 Mo *[()*
- 14 *shuo shenme*
 say what
 "Say what?"

- 15 → *xia xue hui zenmeyang* ((shakes her fists))
 fall snow will how
 "What happens when it snows?"
- 16 (0.3)
- 17 → Ch *leng leng =* ((hugs her teddy bear and looks at her mother))
 cold cold
 "Cold."



- 18 → Mo =o[: dui a::
 AP right AP
 "That's right."
- 19 → Fa [*leng leng o::*
 cold cold AP
 "Cold."
- 20 → *o: hui leng leng shi bu shi*
 AP will cold cold yes no yes
 "It's going to be cold, isn't it?"
- 21 Ch *fu::* ((points at the picture))
 clo::thes
 "Clothes."
- 22 → Fa [*o::*
 AP
 "I see."
- 23 → Mo [*o:: yao chuan yi[fu o::*
 AP need put-on clothes AP
 "I see, he needs to put on clothes."
- 24 → Fa [*xiong xiong yao chuan yifu o:*
 bear bear need put-on clothes AP
 "The bear needs to put on clothes."
- 25 Ch (((touches her own clothes)))

- 26 Fa [a jieguo mama
then result mother
"Then mother,"
- 27 (0.5)
- 28 xiong mama zuo shenme gei ta dai
bear mother make what give 3sg wear
"What did mother bear make for him to wear?"
- 29 (0.5)
- 30 Mo zhe shi shenme ((points at a hat in the picture))
this be what
"What's this?"
- 31 zhe shenme dongxi
this what thing
"What's this thing?"
- 32 → dai zai tou shang [cai bu hui leng leng ((touches her own head))
wear LOC head on so not will cold cold
"You wear on your head so you won't be cold."
- 33 → Ch (((looks at her mother)))



- 34 mao mao
hat hat
"Hat."
- 35 Fa [mao mao
hat hat
"Hat."
- 36 Mo [mao mao
hat hat
"Hat."

In this activity, the participants are sitting on a couch in a father-child-mother triadic position. The father is holding a story book, and the child is holding a teddy bear. All three participants are looking at the pictures in the book and using the Chinese language to discuss the story in English print entitled *What Will Little Bear Wear*. In line 06, the mother uses the particle *o* to show solidarity and agreement with her daughter's answer, "snow," in response to her parents' question, "What's going on outside?" A similar situation can be seen in lines 19, 23, and 24, where the parents echo and expand their child's utterance. They use the particle *o* to show agreement and solidarity.

In lines 18 and 20, the mother and the father respectively precede their utterances with the particle *o* to indicate understanding of the information conveyed by their daughter. This particle is functionally analogous to the lexical phrase, "(Oh,) I see," or "Oh, yeah," as exemplified in line 22. The particle *a* following the word 'right' in line 18 intensifies the agreement. Therefore, the utterance in line 18, preceded by the particle *o* and followed by the particle *a*, can alternatively be translated as "Oh, I see, that's right!" or "Oh, that's right. Exactly!"

As seen in the above activities, affective particles are often markers of intersubjectivity regarding shared knowledge. The parents use these particles to socialize their daughter into common knowledge and to sustain joint attention. The rate of affective particle use in their utterances is relatively high.⁵ It represents a form of motherese in Chinese culture. Thus, affective morphology constitutes a *sine qua non* in the child's language development and sociocultural cognition.

In the activities, joint attention is also enhanced by nonvocal interactions. Nonvocal linguistic cues such as gestures and eye gaze are used together with vocal language to maintain joint attention. For example, in line 10 of excerpt 2 (story telling), the father asks his daughter, "What did the little bear say to the mother bear?" The mother then helps out by giving her daughter a hint using a gesture (line 15). She shakes her fists to signal coldness. The daughter responds to her mother by hugging her teddy bear and looking at her mother as she answers in Chinese, "*leng leng*" ("cold"), in line 17.

In line 28, the father asks his daughter what the mother bear in the story has made for the little bear to wear. To sustain her daughter's attention, the mother points at a hat in the picture and gestures to her daughter by touching her own head to indicate wearing a hat. She also hints, "What's this thing... you wear on your head so you won't be cold?" (lines 31 and 32). The daughter responds by looking at her mother (line 33), and then she answers "*mao mao*" ("hat") in line 34.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper delineates a case study of joint attention in a father-child-mother triad in a Chinese-American family through observation of activities involving triadic interactions. In the activities, the child's behavior is controlled by her parents. The parents physically and intellectually direct her attention and participation in the puzzle game and in the story telling session through complementary roles. The following phenomena are manifested in the triadic interactions: (1) an environment constructed specifically to foster attentional interactions, (2) syncretism of Chinese culture and American culture, (3) division of labor between the parents in which their respective roles complement each other, (4) use of affective particles by the parents to convey intersubjective and cultural information to their daughter as well as to socialize her into common knowledge, and (5) nonvocal linguistic cues such as gestures and eye gaze to enhance interactions.

Barton & Tomasello (1991) show that the frequency of interactions and conversations in joint attention increases with age. Their analysis is supported by the current study. In the puzzle game activity, the child was younger (twenty months), and she was hardly vocal.⁶ In addition, her participation in the joint attentional activity was passive in manner. That is, she merely responded to requests initiated by her parents, e.g., to fit puzzle pieces into the right slots. In the story telling activity, the child was older (twenty-four months). She was vocally expressive on several occasions and participated more actively. In addition to answering her parents' questions, she also initiated her turns, e.g., by pointing out that the little bear needed to put on clothes.

It is not the intention of this study to provide a generalization of language and communication through joint attention and triadic interactions in Chinese-American families. Rather, this study attempts to facilitate our understanding of human interaction in joint attention through observation of a family triad in a bilingual/bicultural setting. It is hoped that the qualitative analysis also provides a suggestion for the application of ethnographic methods to bicultural language socialization.

APPENDIX

Transcription Notation

[beginning of overlapping or simultaneous utterances and/or body movements between participants
(())	description of nonvocal/nonverbal action or gesture
→	transcription line for special attention
:	lengthened sound
()	unclear utterance or uncertain transcription
?	rising intonation
(.x)	.x-second pause
(.)	micropause (less than .3 second)
=	latched utterances between participants

Interlinear Gloss

3sg	third person singular
AP	affective particle
ASP	aspect marker
INT	interrogative marker
LOC	locative marker

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Elinor Ochs and Alessandro Duranti for their guidance in ethnographic research. I am also grateful to Roger Andersen for his insightful discussion on affective morphology. I would like to express my appreciation to Michaela Safadi for her helpful comments on earlier drafts. Special thanks are extended to Andrew Roth, Betsy Rymes, and Jennifer Schlegel for their constructive suggestions.

NOTES

¹ It should be pointed out that what is viewed as 'Chinese' and what is viewed as 'western' in this study are subject to my own interpretation based on my personal experience as a participant and observer in both cultures. The 'cultural difference' here may equivocally be attributable to a 'public' vs. 'private' distinction from another observer's perspective.

² Such a particle has also been labeled 'discourse particle,' 'pragmatic particle,' 'modal particle,' 'interactional particle,' 'final particle,' and the like. In this paper, I use the term 'affective particle' to relate it to its pragmatic function of communicating affective stance.

³ In her study of Samoan children, Ochs (1988) points out that children are socialized through language and socialized to use language. Ochs (1986) also notes that

children acquire the knowledge of linguistic conventions associated with affect from a very early point in developmental time.

⁴ Refer to the appendix for transcription notation and interlinear gloss.

⁵ Compared to an adult-to-adult interaction, the rate of affective particle use in a parent-child interaction is often noticeably higher, especially if the child is very young.

⁶ The child occasionally produced one-word utterances, e.g., "na" ("take"), when she requested her father to get a puzzle piece. However, in excerpt 1, she was not vocal at all.

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Syncretic Practice: Change and Maintenance of the Samoan/Samoan American `â / huh

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Samoans establish new communities and identities through different linguistic strategies in the urban context of Los Angeles. I isolated two kinds of strategies, the "minimal grasp" and the "tag particle" in both Samoan and Samoan-English, and traced the distribution of their use in everyday encounters between adults and children. Different models for socializing appropriate behavior—the Samoan way (fa`aSâmoa) and the American way (fa`apalagi)—co-exist within the same speech community. I argue that by comparing the different social organizations of language use, we may uncover how certain forms may be used to simultaneously maintain and transform cultural practices within a syncretic social space.

INTRODUCTION

Changing child socialization practices are evident in everyday conversational practices between Samoan American adults and their children. I am interested in explaining how some micro-ethnographic practices (minimal grasp repairs) are maintained whereas others (conversational tags) are challenged in exchanges between Samoan American children and their care givers. If we construe everyday-interactive linguistic strategies as cultural tools deployed by members, then we are able to understand how members modify them in new social contexts without necessarily compromising sociocultural identities.

The Samoan American community under investigation is located near the industrial port of San Pedro.¹ Samoan households are spread throughout this region of the city. What keeps people united is their interactions with other Samoans in different social activities like extracurricular school events, church-based activities, and family parties. We followed three children (Seuseu, Sikê and Luina) from three different extended households in their everyday activities. We intentionally wanted to collect socialization data to compare with those collected in Western Samoa in the late 70's by Elinor Ochs, Alessandro Duranti, and Martha Platt. My role in the project has been to focus on what the children are doing and how children are also active agents of culture change.

Older models for studying immigrant cultures are absolutely inadequate for current studies of urban groups. Anthropological studies in the United States have tended to study 'Others' in their own place without considering how 'Others' are in fact mobile and can and have become 'our' neighbors. In this article I take an analytic perspective which prioritizes the nexus between culture and communication: how people use different linguistic strategies to accomplish everyday living and how these strategies are culturally shaped. Borrowing from studies in the Ethnography of Communication and Conversation Analysis I will compare and contrast how minimal grasps and tags are deployed by Samoans in Western Samoa and Los Angeles. I will explicate the intricate social relationships woven across generations in Los Angeles through these strategies. Moreover, I will illustrate how this process relates to changing and conflicting perceptions of what is considered "appropriate" child behavior as evidenced within three Los Angeles Samoan households.

FROM STUDIES OF ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION TO SYNCRETIC PRACTICE

Models of assimilation and acculturation are abundant in early social scientific research. One can still note vestiges of their influence in recent academic work. These models² usually generate descriptions of immigrant life within the United States which misrepresent the actual social processes through which people re-create their lives within new social contexts. Such static models presuppose that people's cultures from "back-home" are homogeneous and "pure"; once people come to the United States, they must maintain all of these cultural "traits" to be considered authentic representatives of their culture.³

Models of assimilation and acculturation also presuppose that language is a precise indicator of the cultural frame for interpreting the world (Duranti & Ochs, 1996). The reasoning goes that a speaker may only be Samoan while speaking in Samoan and American while speaking in American-English.⁴ Once the children of Samoan immigrants no longer speak Samoan they are considered to be completely assimilated into mainstream monolingual American-English US society. This is a grave misconception of multicultural and multilingual communities (Duranti & Ochs, 1996). These descriptions grossly distort Samoans' everyday lived experiences. In fact, most recent studies show that researchers *must* approach immigrant groups as functioning simultaneously within two communities (Anzaldúa, 1987; Chavez, 1994; Duranti, Ochs & Ta'asê, 1995; Rosaldo, 1989; Zentella, 1990).

To untangle these webs of cultural and communicative relationships, it is crucial to see how people conduct everyday life as *social actors*. One way we can do so is to track how social actors deploy different linguistic strategies within social interactions.⁵ By comparing different patterns of linguistic phenomenon

we can begin to observe how people orient to constructing their social relationships through language.⁶ Moreover, the tracking of linguistic forms in interaction provides a methodological vehicle by which we can witness how different kinds of cultural practices are changing both within families and across families within the same community.

As I was tracking different forms used in child-adult linguistic exchanges, I noted that there were two distinct interactional phenomena—'minimal grasp clarification requests' and 'tags'⁷—used in everyday Samoan talk in both Western Samoa and the United States. The functional-interactional consequences of minimal grasp deployment remained constant across sociocultural contexts. The patterns of tag usage, however, are changing in the Los Angeles Samoan community. This change in conversational practice, which I will discuss shortly, also has interesting consequences for child language socialization practices.

Once co-existing practices are identified across communities one can begin to consider how people use the same kinds of linguistic forms differentially to transform the organization of emerging social networks.⁸ In the case of the Los Angeles Samoan communities, some of these changing practices are fundamentally challenging 'traditional' Samoan social structures. Moreover, the process by which people mediate these challenges is fundamentally syncretic. Syncretism, as I have used it here, means "the intermingling or merging of culturally diverse traditions (which) informs and organizes activities." (Duranti & Ochs, 1996)

Elsewhere (Reynolds, 1995) I have argued that "syncretic practice" is the process by which different and sometimes competing cultural notions are challenged and kneaded out interactionally on a moment by moment basis by the participants. It is a process which is never resolved even though sometimes a temporary resolution is established within specific social relationships. Syncretic practices may help mediate social, cultural, and linguistic change within households, community institutions, and the community at large. Syncretism may occur precisely at the moment when the boundaries between otherwise compartmentalized identities are blurred.⁹ In the case of Los Angeles Samoan households, we noted that while age-based family hierarchies were maintained some children were socialized in a way that undermined that same hierarchy within particular familial relationships. For example, one child, Luina, often verbally challenged her mother in dyadic exchanges. This is evidenced particularly in her tendency to initiate topics for talk and tag adults as unproblematic recipients for talk. Being able to tag an adult indexes something about the kind of relationship a child might be trying to assert or perhaps it indexes the kind of relationship(s) a child has already been developing with that particular recipient. In practices to initiate other-repair,¹⁰ however, such changing relationships were not indexed. To be able to understand the significance of these data one must have some understanding of the ethnographic context of the Samoan communities being discussed.

REFLECTIONS ON A LOS ANGELES SAMOAN COMMUNITY

In the Los Angeles area there are many different Samoan American communities.¹¹ When driving into Samoan communities one will find Samoan households nestled right alongside households of people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. I have conceptualized Samoan extended family households separated by geographic space as the metaphorical extended community.

Some Samoan families have lived in these communities for several generations and others are just arriving. Extended family residences are often transformed into conduits through which people and material goods travel back and forth between the Islands and the mainland. Samoan American children born in Los Angeles do not have the direct access to experiencing 'life in Samoa' their parents might have had. The three children of this study, Luina, Seuseu, and Sikê, have witnessed cultural diversity since they were born. They are directly exposed to this cultural diversity at school, in their neighborhoods, in the local parks, and through images in television and music.

What has remained constant across generations is the support which children receive from the various members of their extended families. This holds true for life back on the Islands as well as here in Los Angeles. In many ways, these children's life experiences are being shaped by the different people who continuously stream through the social space around them.¹² They are generally members of extended families who grew up with the children's mothers and fathers. Some of these people may have been raised by their grandparents or parents. Movement of people through the children's homes, the stories that they bring, and the manner people have of relating to children, give children indirect access to ways of learning and living back in Samoa. This is achieved through language socialization practices within all interactions between caregivers and children. These varying practices, designed by a speaker for a specific party (or parties), embed messages in ongoing interactions (Schieffelin, 1990).

Another kind of extended community is evident in Samoan participation in local church activities. The Samoan Congregational Church, in the Samoan community in which this research took place, is responsible for many kinds of social activities that keep people united with one another as if they were back living in a small community on one of the islands. In fact, Duranti, Ochs, and Ta'asê (1995) have described how the *nu'u lotu's* (church village or urban village) physical construction and allocation of space within the church compound recreates a feeling of a 'village' within an urban setting. This place is one locus of community activity organized and controlled exclusively by Samoans.

All of the children in the Los Angeles Samoan project attend the same church and often go to Sunday school. Many times the extra-curricular activities that they engage in are church related. Church attendance and participation is one public demonstration of allegiance to the Samoan community and ethnic

identity. Children are expected to show respect (*fa'aaloalo*) by going to church and interacting 'appropriately' with people from different generations in this public context.

At home, children are also expected to be respectful of older and higher ranking family members. Complying with family responsibilities like caring for siblings while not 'talking back' or acting 'cheeky' are expected as appropriate conduct. Family dynamics and relationships are constantly being shaped to varying degrees by two cultural ideals—respect and responsibility. These are held by many Samoans and believed to be key to one's social survival. It is important to note that 'responsibility' is distributed differently within each family and 'respect' might have different shades of meaning as well. In Los Angeles, the way one demonstrates respect is changing. Most children and young adults cannot command the more specific 'respect vocabulary' (Duranti, 1992; Milner, 1961) although they may be exposed to it in some settings (e.g. the church).

These Samoan American households actively maintain variations of 'Samoan traditions.' Change occurs within the act of recreating tradition. So that even though a bridge of social relations continues to remain intact between Samoa and the US, the way people do 'being Samoan' is changing on both sides. 'Being Samoan' has assumed different meanings. For example, on one occasion a Samoan American mother who recently traveled to Samoa for the first time told me that she was struck by how hard children worked over there. She witnessed very young children helping out with chores. She said that she felt the kids in the US were spoiled. Life, for US kids, was "like a piece of cake" compared to that of kids back in Samoa. This is a very different perspective from the one of Western Samoans who often describe the US as a dangerous place¹³ and Samoan society as easy going (*filemû*). These perspectives respond to the different but necessary survival skills necessary in the social contexts in which Samoan children are raised. In the first observation, the mother felt that the kids raised in the United States are not learning what it means to work hard. The second observation points out the different environment in which children must survive. In cities like Los Angeles, children cannot act exactly the same way they do in Samoa. Their mobility around the Samoan American community is more restricted.¹⁴ There are other 'outside' dangers which children face at school and in the playgrounds (like gangs and drugs) which kids back on the Islands do not have to worry about. Adults must contend with these changing aspects of life. First, they must discern 'survival skills' necessary for the respective community. Secondly, they must be able to transmit the skills that children need to know to face life. In the case of first generation immigrant populations, moreover, it is sometimes youths who teach adults about survival in the new place.

Still, the position of Samoan American youths as 'teacher' or 'cultural broker' does not absolve them from being judged by the expectations of the older generations. Demonstrating 'respect' is not always easy to accomplish in

interaction, especially when members within the same household may be subscribing to different models for it. Children may act 'inappropriately' because they don't know what is expected of them. Sometimes children act 'inappropriately' because they don't agree with the 'appropriate' models of behavior by which adults evaluate them. In Western Samoa children are supposed to respect the age-based family hierarchy by doing what's asked of them and adapting to adult activities. Child care often is the responsibility of older siblings. Older adults (like grandparents) should not have to be bothered with the needs of low ranking people like children. Questions regarding who is responsible to adapt to the child's needs often arise in the US social context, especially since the American model of 'appropriate' child care is based on always adapting to the child (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). For example, US institutions, like public education, base their pedagogical practices on the understanding that adults will supervise children's progress at school by assisting them with their homework. In Samoan households, when children need help with homework assignments they sometimes need to interrupt adult activities to ask for help (Duranti & Ochs, 1996). The problem of "who is responsible for assisting the child," is usually dealt with through a hierarchy of care-giving, whereby the youngest available adult assists the child.

Samoan parents feel especially challenged by some of the choices that confront them while living in US society. For multilingual, multicultural families some of these choices are: In which language should I raise my child? How do I teach my children about their rich and diverse heritages? How do I handle conflict between different traditions? After all, children are simultaneously in contact with people from Samoa as well as their relatives raised in Los Angeles. Children are exposed to these adults' explicit and implicit cultural expectations regarding child behavior. Like everyone else in their family, children must contend with a wide-array of experiences and theories about what is appropriate and what is not. There are some patterns of mediated "appropriate" practices which are community wide and others which are family specific. This is true particularly for the patterned use of minimal grasps and tags. During the following discussion on the distribution of the use of minimal grasps and tags, I hope to demonstrate that both are sociolinguistic variables in the Labovian tradition. The use of minimal grasp tokens indexes continuity of culturally shaped conversational practice whereas the use of tag questions is a powerful index of cultural change—syncretic practice in action.

DESCRIPTION OF MINIMAL GRASPS

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1977) and later Ochs (1988) wrote of minimal grasps as a strategy which "exhibit(s) minimal or no grasp of what the speaker has said or done and (which) rel(ies) primarily on the speaker to resay the

utterance or redo the gesture (Ochs, 1988, p. 133)." Minimal grasps are usually WH- interrogatives which show that the recipient to the talk has grasped that the first party has said something related to a "what" rather than a "who" or a "when." For example, consider the following exchange:¹⁵

Example A

Virginia, 14:08-15 (Schegloff data set)

- 15 Bet: so I wen down the bank en Pam did en they were tellin me about th'
16 wedding (.) 'h they said thet Phillips got um (0.5) knee: wa:lking
17 dru::nk et the reception
18 (0.2)
19 Mom: Who:?
20 Bet: Phillips,
21 Mom: Wh[o's Phillips]
22 Bet: [Pa:m Ben]sen's (.) husband.

"Who?" in line 19 is a minimal grasp. Mom understood that Beth had referred to someone; the "who" locates "Phillips" as the trouble source in understanding. Mom is the social actor who initiates the repair. Conversation analysts refer to this practice as "other-initiated repair"—initiated by someone other than the speaker of the trouble source.

Minimal grasp strategies differ from other repair strategies. Ochs (1988) discusses them in opposition to an expressed guess strategy where the recipient of the first utterance "articulate(s) a guess at what the speaker's unclear utterance or gesture could be or mean (Ochs, 1988, p. 134)." This is a common strategy in White Middle Class American caregiver-child interactions in which adults constantly make guesses about what babbling babies are trying to utter. Minimal grasps cover a range of possible utterances from WH- interrogatives to utterances like *huh?*, *mh?*, *uh?* and all its variations. The difference between *huh?* and WH- interrogatives is that *huh*-like utterances display no explicit understanding.

Ochs' Western Samoa data revealed that the minimal grasp strategy was used with much greater frequency between caregivers and young children. Expressed guesses were exceedingly rare. She argues that the preference for minimal grasp clarification requests over other strategies re-enforces a Samoan epistemology which bases meaning on the consequences of utterances/actions (Ochs 1988, p. 142). There is a dispreference for assigning interpretations based on an individual's intentions.¹⁶ In this paper I illustrate how such an epistemology is maintained in Western and Los Angeles Samoan interactions involving all minimal grasp forms. The interactional practice is maintained; only a phonetic change is evident due to switching between the two codes.

Minimal Grasp Data

Example One

Western Samoan Family Dinner

August, 1988

Husband: S

Wife: Sk

- Sk; ((S and Sk are finishing the preparation of dinner for their guests))
 leai, amai 'i'i
 "no, bring [it] here"
 ((kids talking in background))
 —> S; `e â?
 "what?"
 Sk; se i kope mea ia
 "let me just hurry these up ((make the food quickly))"

Example one is an example of the Samoan WH- interrogative `e â. In rapid talk, sometimes the `e is dropped so that only a long â is uttered, `e â is nevertheless understood. Example two demonstrates how the `e gets dropped in an LA Samoan adult-child exchange. Notice how Sikê still responds to it as a request for clarification. He repeats his prior utterance.

Example Two

Sikê's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

Sikê: Si

Sikê's Grandfather: Gf

Sikê's Grandmother: Gm

- Gf; Sikê
 Si; ((withdraws hand))
 what?
 Gf; are you guys gonna eat?
 Gm; (?â fea?)
 "when?"
 Si; no
 ((walks into CAM view from the left))
 —> Gf; â::? ((/ð::?/))
 "what?"
 Si; no:::
 [
 ((runs towards recliner))
 Gf; no:::?

This sound â is equivalent to the English /ð/. In instances when it is aspirated, it begins to phonetically resemble the English "hðh." Example three is an instance of an aspirated â.

Example Three

Seuseu's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

Kiare: (youngest girl)

Gladice: (older sister)

Father: (Father of both girls)

- Kiare; ((*eating a piece of bread*))
 dad can I eat this?
 ((*shows her father the remaining piece of bread clutched in her hand*))
 Gladice; ahhhh=
 → Father; =o^h?
 "what"
 Kiare; can I eat this?
 ((*shows her father the bread*))
 Father; oi e al-al ga koe fesili lea,
 "oh you eat-eat and then ask"

All three examples illustrate the maintenance of a conversational practice of other-initiated repair across social contexts. The phonetic transformation occurring is that the Samoan other-initiated repair minimal grasp begins to resemble an American English minimal grasp form (*huh?*) which in fact does not display *any* understanding whatsoever of what the first speaker intended to say.¹⁷ Also notice how, across both social contexts, adults were the initiators of all instances of other-initiated repair. However, it is not uncommon to find children using the same kind of strategy to initiate repair of the previous speaker's utterance. It is appropriate for children to use minimal grasps, even with adults. It is not appropriate to use other kinds of other-initiated repair.

Example Four

Luina's Family 1994 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

Minimal grasp other-repair initiators used by Luina to clarify her mother's indexical gesture.

- Mother; look at that right there
 Luina; hðh?
 → Mother; look at that right there
 Luina; what
 Mother; these
 ((*points*))
 did you?
 Luina; no

Example four is a minimal grasp other-initiated repair deployed by the lower-ranking speaker. The minimal grasp requests clearer instructions so that Luina still may comply with the task at hand—directing her attention to the appropriate place on the page and answering her mother's inquiry. Even though I am only providing one instance where a lower-ranking speaker deploys a repair initiator, I found it to also be preferred over other kinds of repair strategies in both Western Samoa and Los Angeles.

USE OF TAG PARTICLES

The first researchers to mention the import of tags in the organization of turn taking were Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (1974). They discussed the gross organizational features which compose a "turn-in-a-series" (1974, p. 722). They distinguished a three part structure including a component which "addresses the relation of a turn to a prior turn, one involved with what is occupying the turn, and one which addresses the relation of the turn to a succeeding one" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 722). Turn final tags, in their data, occupy the slot which addresses the relation of the current turn to a succeeding one.

Example B

(From Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 722)

- (29) A: It would burn you out to kiss me then, [hunh]
 B: [Yeah well we all
 know where that's at.
 ((pause))
 A: [()
 B: [I mean you went- you went through a- a long rap on that
 one.=
 —> A: =Yeah, so I say that would burn you out then, hunh

Here 'yeah' is a formal affiliator to last turn; 'hunh' is a tag question, projecting a link to next turn.
 [TZ:21-23]

Tags are deployed in conjunction with other co-occurring features, sometimes built into the talk itself, which select next speaker: Eye-gaze (Goodwin, 1979) and spatial proximity may also select a specific party/second speaker in these two contexts.¹⁸

A more specific characterization of this form of tag deployment was written by Gail Jefferson (1980). She refers to this phenomena as a tag response solicitation. Its function is to get the selected addressee to respond to the second part of the turn with some sort of evaluative response. I have found that almost all Los Angeles Samoans' tags are used to prompt affirmative responses to prior assertions.¹⁹ The tags are deployed in an attempt to accomplish other interactive work. First, tags may be deployed to 'tag' the selected recipient's attention. Children use tags to check adult attention across utterances. Second, the speaker searches for agreement with their prior talk by the selected recipient. This turn allows the recipients to contribute to and expand upon the first speaker's statement if they so desire. Recipients may dispute the affirmation of the first speaker's statement or even choose to ignore it. After selecting and categorizing *all* of the interactions in which tags are deployed, I came up with the following diagram. It outlines two possible 'ideal' conversational contexts in which tags

are deployed. Part I is representative of most adult-adult interactions. Part II is representative of most child-adult interactions.

Diagram:

I	Adult1: Assertion + Tag particle Adult2: Agreement	ADULT-ADULT
-----OR-----		
II	Child: Assertion Adult: ((no response)) Child: Tag Particle Adult: Response (+/-)	CHILD-ADULT

As members within Samoan American households differentiate between adult-adult interactions, adult-child and child-adult interactions, it became necessary to clarify issues of participation in order to understand the use of tags. Some of the general questions I addressed when first analyzing these interactions were: Who are the participants? Who is entitled to use the tags and with whom? In which ways do different participants transform the form of tags? How is the nature of interactional work transformed when we consider asymmetrical differences in social status between the participants? Finally, how might these practices pattern across different families? I will attend to answering these questions in the following sections.

ADULT TAG PARTICLE DATA

"`â" or "həh" are tag particles²⁰ evidenced in Samoan and English. A tag functions at different interactional levels. It has different phonetic forms which have different distributional patterns across families and generations and when children deploy a tag it accompanies different illocutionary acts.

Example Five

Western Samoa Family Dinner
August, 1988

Samoan particle, the tag. Father of the family is chatting with his friend. They are discussing the difficulty in acquiring a wheelbarrow.

Father;	fai aku loga uiga "I tell you this means"
→	e lē mafai ka'ilo pe koe mafai se uilipaelo `â? "you probably can't get/borrow a wheel barrow, huh?"
Friend;	auâ ko lua â uilipaelo la e lelei "because there are only two wheel barrows that are still good"

Example five is an instance of the Western Samoan tag `â used between the father of the household and a friend of the family (adult-adult). In the first turn, the father appeals to his friend for a verification of his belief that it is improbable that the friend will be able to acquire a wheel barrow to carry some of his things. The tag with rising intonation at the end of his turn cues his friend to respond, either confirming or dispelling his doubts about the availability of a wheelbarrow. The friend does confirm the father's assertion by explaining why it will be difficult: "because there are only two wheel barrows that are still good." This instance of tag deployment conforms with the sequence structure represented in part one of the Diagram.

A fine example of the use of both particles (Samoan and Samoan English) in tag position within Los Angeles Samoan adult conversation is evidenced in example six where Sikê's grandparents are chatting with a visitor (Alessandro Duranti). The grandmother uses a tag to address the guest about different kinds of Samoan food. The grandfather takes the next turn to expand the discussion from chicken to New Zealand corned beef. Later on in the discussion, the grandfather code-switches into English when he uses the Samoan-English tag accompanied by a negative assessment of corned beef. It's "too fat huh" opposed to the grandmother's first positive assessment of baked taro, "mânaia `â?", glossed as "its nice huh?".

Example Six

Sikê's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

The grandmother (Gm) and grandfather (Gf) of Sikê, are chatting with the researcher, Alessandro Duranti (Al), about Samoan food.

- | | | |
|----|-----|---|
| —> | Gm; | mânaia `â?
"its nice huh?" |
| | Gf; | (? ? ?) moa
"chicken" |
| | | (.) |
| | Gf; | ia ma le pisupo
"okay and corned beef" |
| | | e `ai pisupo `oe Niu Sila?
"do you eat New Zealand corned beef?" |
| | Al; | e leai
"no" |
| | Gf; | `e â?
"what?" |
| | Al; | e lē flafia ai tele
"I don't like it too much" |
| | Gf; | Niu Sila?
"New Zealand?" |
| | Gm; | Sâmoa?
"Samoan?" |
| —> | Gf; | too fat huh? |

In both instances we witness that the tag follows an assertion and it functions within the interaction to engage one of the parties to respond to their assertion. In both instances there is an embedded assessment ("nice" and "too fat") within the assertion so that if the party responds with a positive answer then they are

taking up a stance which aligns with the assessment made by the first speaker. Tags, act in such contexts, in a sense, to invite the addressee to align with or reject the prior speaker's assessment. *These tags can be used as an intersubjective tool to let the active conversational parties display their different stances toward the initiator of the tag.*

ASYMMETRIC TAG PRACTICES

The interactive function of tags in adult-adult exchanges is not necessarily the same for adult-child interactions. Adults use tags with children most often to direct action or elicit information. Like minimal grasps, this is another linguistic and social practice which bridges both Samoa and Los Angeles. In this example, the mother deploys a tag after an interrogative. She is prompting them to respond to her question.

Example Seven

Seuseu's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

Mother --> Children. Example of Seuseu's mother using minimal grasps with two of her children.

Mother;	e te lua o? "are you two going" ((looks toward child 1)) a? "huh?"
→ Child 1;	((eating)) [I not going]
Child 2;	[mom I going] ((sits on the table))

The greater variation of tag usage is encountered in child-adult interactions. Gaining adult attention is an interactional problem for children. Adults do not treat children as equal conversational partners. Children, therefore, have to somehow resolve this inherent asymmetry. If children endeavor to engage adults verbally, then they take a risk of being ignored or being scolded. These are only some of the possible consequences for treating someone of higher rank as if they are of equal social status. It is thus a significant interactional achievement for a child to gain an adult's attention.

There is a notable difference among the families in our study in the way they sanctioned children's use of tags to achieve certain interactional ends. Although many children seemed entitled to use tags, not all of them were able to use them in the same way. These differences may be first traced to the children's relative success in their deployment of tags. I have found that there is an overall gross distinction between 'successful' and 'failed' tag usage in talk-in-interaction.

Los Angeles Samoan children sometimes resolve the aforementioned interactional problem through a 'successful' tag deployment. 'Successful' tag usage entails the child gaining adult attention and not being scolded for attempting to do so. A 'failure' in tag usage entails one, the child was ignored or two, the child was scolded for interrupting. In real interactions, there are actually different degrees of 'success.' Sometimes the deployment of tags does not elicit a verbal response. It does, however, accomplish what the talk is designed to do. Tags are used in conjunction with particular speech acts. If the perlocutionary act of the talk happens to coincide with the goal of the illocutionary act then the tag is 'successful' in the sense that I have been describing it.

I am making a distinction between 'gaining attention without scolding' and 'being ignored' or 'gaining attention with scolding.' Adults do not scold each other for using tags. Adults of equal status, when they gain the floor to take a turn, are generally entitled to equally participate in intimate everyday conversation. Children, on the other hand, are not accorded the same social rank as adults. They have a different set of social behaviors and linguistic resources available to them. Being able to deploy a tag is indirectly related to the kinds of speech practices associated with 'adult status.' Adults, for example, also are able to introduce new conversational topics and select which parties will be the participants of such interactions. Tags are deployed to facilitate this turn taking strategy as well as elicit evaluations of a first speaker's assertion. Behaviors which are explicitly socialized and expected of Samoan children are those "concerned with getting children to know names of others, notice movements of others, greet others, perform with others (sing, etc.), deliver messages for others, report news, and fetch objects" (Ochs, 1987, p. 50). This does not include initiating conversational topics or selecting who may be a conversational participant. Children in Western Samoa are not expected to participate as adults in adult conversations (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984).

I will also examine how 'successful' and 'failed' tag usage does not necessarily correlate with 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' kinds of behavior accompanying the deployment of tags across family households. In other words, children sometimes achieve successful tag deployment when their behavior could be construed as 'inappropriate' (talking-back, being cheeky, interrupting adult conversation) by other adult members of this speech community. This twist of events actually strengthens the argument that these different patterns of successful and failed tag use are indexes of change in social relationships between specific family members.

The following section is dedicated to unpacking some of these different kinds of tag interactions. I will first track the different kinds of behaviors (appropriate and inappropriate) which children 'do' as they simultaneously deploy these tags. I am particularly interested in how behaviors and appendage tags are managed interactionally between adults and children. Moreover, I will show that the seemingly disparate practices between families are consistent in that they all index the different evolving social relationships in the three households.

CHILD TAG PARTICLE DATA

Example eight is one in which two children compete for their mother's attention. Note that Ana's tag functions to elicit an affirmation of her previous assertion while Seuseu's tag functions as a begging device to derail his mother's attention from Ana. Both of these interactional strategies were a challenge to accomplish as there were many other competing activities and sounds to preoccupy the mother. As the following transcript will reveal, only one child successfully deploys the tag.

Example Eight

Seuseu's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| | Mother;
((to Seuseu)) | alu e ave ou se'evae ave ou se'evae e tu'u
"go take your shoes- take your shoes put them away"
toetiti na ou alatu e tã ma oe
"I may be coming and hit you"
tu'u ile i le mea lele
"put it in that place/thing"
Ana ol Lita
"oh" |
| | ((turns to Ana lying
next to her))
((to Seuseu)) | Seuseu mal ile i le mea lele
"bring (it) there to that place/thing"
mom "Jesus" is capitalized hΔh?
m!::, ²¹
because it it's a name=
=mama!::
[
((enters screen from left))
ma can I go to the park
((kneels down in the front Mother and Ana))
(.) |
| —> | Ana;
Mother;
Ana;
Seuseu; | hΔh?=
((walks by))
=mommy,
can I go tuh park!/= |
| | Ana;
((to mother)) | tha's not very long |
| —> | Seuseu;
Ana; | =hΔh?
all I have to do is (? ?)
[
((whines)) mōie::::
((leans over, contorting his body so that he
can try & capture his mother's gaze))
all I have to do is two lines
mommy:::: mommy::::
((sits up and stops whining)) |
| | Ana;
Seuseu; | |

A brief recap of the events and social actors will follow to provide the reader a little of the context in which this interaction occurs in real time. At the onset of this transcript, the mother is in the middle of issuing a series of directives in Samoan to her young son Seuseu. She wants him to pick up his shoes and put them out of the way. He doesn't move fast enough for her so she threatens him with the future consequences (getting hit) for not complying. While the mother

is addressing Seuseu, her daughter Ana is fighting off the four-year old Lita who is disrupting Ana's homework. The mother acknowledges them just before her attention is drawn back to Seuseu, who doesn't know where he should put the shoes. As she tells him where to put them, Ana attempts to draw her mother's attention back to her homework by asking whether 'Jesus' is supposed to be capitalized. The mother responds affirmatively and the girl expands her original assertion with an explanation as to how she knew that 'Jesus' was capitalized. This expansion resembles what Mehan (1979) refers to as a process response, where the child is supposed to orally provide the reasoning behind the answer to a question. As soon as she finishes her statement, her younger brother, Seuseu, approaches and calls "mama!:". When their mother doesn't respond he kneels in front of her, requests permission to go to the park and uses the tag "həh?" As shown in the transcript he repeatedly utters this tag. The mother ignores him completely. Even when he bends down, putting his face close to hers, she continues to ignore him.

Both children employ tags and the conversational sequencing corresponds to the two patterns in the diagram. Ana's tag conforms to adult conversational practices. It invites the hearer to confirm the speaker's last assertion. Seuseu appears to be an interloper in this interaction. His presence interrupts Ana's homework. Like Ana's talk, Seuseu's talk is designed to set up a participation framework with his mother as primary recipient. Nevertheless, the relative difference between successful and failed deployment of conversational tags is whether one's status as a participant at that instant is ratified or unratified (Goffman, 1981). The mother does not permit the children to use these tags with her when they are interrupting activities in which she is already engaged.²² Even when Seuseu lowers himself²³ below her seated position, he still fails to gain the floor.

With so many children around,²⁴ the mother creates 'private' spaces where she can help individual children do homework without letting others disturb them. At the same time, she monitors the behavior of the other kids to ensure that they are not getting into trouble. Thus, the mother is involved in multiple activities ('doing homework supervision,' 'directing housework,' and other kinds of monitoring) and she lets the children know the participant framework she will invoke for each activity by the way she chooses to interact with some children and not others. Thus, Seuseu is a ratified participant when she directs him to put shoes away within the 'directing housework' activity. He is not a ratified participant once his mother has switched activities to 'doing homework supervision.' His begs and calls are ignored and essentially failed strategies at that instant. This does not mean that begging might not be successful within a different interaction.

This kind of switching between participation frameworks may be unique to the demands of this family: Seuseu's family is the largest out of the three families included in this study. Besides his parents and occasional aunts, uncles, and cousins who stop by, he has ten siblings, ages ranging 18 years to a baby of

six months at the time of filming. Five of them (including Seuseu) are under the age of ten. There are many young children around the house playing about and demanding attention.

This is not a unique case. For example, when the mother is involved in one activity she is often called to help someone else in a different activity. She sometimes ignores them. She often assigns other older children to go take care of the problem. The sibling caregiving observable in this household is common to Samoan households on Western and American Samoa (Mead, 1928; Ochs, 1988). The father also partakes in this kind of assignment and re-assignment of duties when he is home.

Returning to example eight, it is evident that ignoring strategies make explicit who is accorded higher rank and who must receive ratification to participate in 'adult' activities.²⁵ Of course giving permission is not exclusively an adult activity, but it is a vehicle for the enforcement of certain adult interactional privileges (to decide who may and may not participate in talk). As long as children are ratified participants they may use the tags after assessments and requests. In this particular instance, begging is discouraged or possibly considered an inappropriate behavior. This does not hold true across all interactional contexts.

'APPROPRIATE' AND 'INAPPROPRIATE' BEHAVIORS²⁶

In the previous section, I discussed the difference between 'successful' and 'failed' tag deployment. One might say that the child was ignored because his behavior was inappropriate. But *what* was the inappropriate thing that the adult might have been trying to discourage? Begging is not necessarily an inappropriate behavior. It seems to me that the adult was not discouraging the behavior, but rather *how* the child was trying to accomplish 'begging.' Was it the right time or place? Was he entitled to engage his mother as a recipient at that moment? How was the talk produced? Behavior is not merely 'acting cheeky' or 'talking back.' Other contextual factors must be considered when discussing how the socialization of 'appropriate behaviors' is achieved in interactions. In what follows I will examine how children try to 'do' different things with tags, only some of which are successful or appropriate. In other words, I will show the specific illocutionary force that tags have when deployed by the children.

The next transcript comes from Seuseu's family. Seuseu does asking permission, but he does it wrong. He is sitting in the living room in front of the television while his mother is sitting in the dining area with his older siblings. She is engaged in supervising the other children's schoolwork. She is also trying to relax by being with the older kids who are quietly working away

with their homework. Suddenly, Seuseu yells from the living room to the dining area, trying to get her permission to get a toy.

Example Nine

Seuseu's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

- Seuseu; mama can I have a toy?
 ma can I have toy?
 ((bending on his knees and look over to the table to his mother))
 (1.0)
 → hoh?
 Mother; ((shakes her head back and forth horizontally))²⁷

Seuseu utters his request to have a toy two times and he receives no verbal or gestured uptake from his mother. Had his mother heard him and wanted to respond affirmatively she could have done so after both first and second requests where he comes to possible completion of his turn. She does not. Seuseu ventures again by extending his request with a tag thereby filling that growing gap of silence following his ignored requests. This time his mother shakes her head 'no' and he drops the matter. His tag was already a failure before he had even a chance to utter it as his mother was already ignoring him from the other room.²⁸ Even though asking adults' permission to do or get something is a possible activity for children, the way in which Seuseu tries to do so in this instance is not appropriate.²⁹ This is evidenced by the perlocutionary effect of his request.

Example 10 is an instance of Sikê doing 'talking back.' Sikê and his older 'sibling'³⁰ Mata are both sitting in the living room watching television. Mata is on the couch holding a baby cousin while Sikê sits on a large reclining chair off to the side of the room. Here a disagreement disrupts when his aunt enters the living room and orders him to pick up some toys which he had left lying around. He indignantly says that they aren't his toys. He tries to place the responsibility for picking them up on Mata by stating that they are hers. Mata calmly and quietly disputes his statement telling him not to lie

Example Ten

Sikê's Family 1993 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

- Aunt; ((stops and looks at Sikê))
 sh:::^a piki l luga la au-
 "pick up your"
 [
 ((kicks something on the ground towards Sikê))
 au toys la
 "your toys here"
 fofola solo
 "all lying around"
 they're not my toys
 (? ? ?)
 Aunt; ((walks to book shelf in far left corner))
 Sikê; those are Ma-ta's
 Mata; °don't lie°
 (.)

	Sikê;	<u>M</u> ata h̄ad tho::se
	Mata;	°don't lie°
→	Sikê;	I <u>g</u> ave um to her <u>ð</u> h.
	Mata;	don't lie
	Sikê;	I'm not those are not my toys

The volume and stress on "ðh" index Sikê's frustration, but this behavior makes him look extremely cheeky compared to Mata who is quiet but nevertheless insistent with her accusations that he is lying. Sikê is quite successful³² at getting 'his way' when he deploys this tag. In this instance, the sequencing of the talk consists of a series of denials immediately followed by accusations between the children while the aunt doesn't talk at all. Sikê is addressing his aunt, while making Mata an overhearer. The aunt lets the argument run its course without interfering. After he declares that they aren't his toys for the last time, the aunt leaves the room and she tells Mata to watch over the baby. Thus, this interaction is transformed into a squabble between siblings rather than a dispute resolved by the aunt. She does not tell Sikê to go pick up the toys again. She doesn't tell Mata to do it either. Sikê's apparent success in this interaction will not cushion him from future charges of acting 'cheeky.' At that moment, and at that moment only was he permitted to assert himself and deny the charges being perceived as against him in the presence of an adult. The tag seems to work as an emphatic device to support his position as one who is not responsible for the toys.

Example eleven is taken from Luina's family. This is an instance of doing 'being cheeky.' Luina, like the children from the other two families, knows how to use tags. She also knows how to deploy them subtly to challenge adults and adult behavior. In example eleven Luina initiates a remembering sequence with her mother which highlights a previous interactional dispute between them. Earlier on that afternoon her mother had discovered a tape dispenser in her folder and had accused her of taking it from school. Luina had defended her position that this accusation was unjust³³ and perhaps was still smarting over it. So, while her mother is putting something away in the kitchen, she tries to initiate a conversation about what her mother had thought... "you thought I took that from school hō h mom?"

Example Eleven

Luina's Family 1994 (Los Angeles Samoan Data)

	Mother;	((walking around kitchen, putting something away))
	Luina;	((turns her head back toward table, grabs the tape dispenser))
		((funny accent))
→		[
		you thawt I <u>took</u> <u>th</u> at from school hō h mom.
	Mother;	<u>hō</u> h?
→	Luina;	you thought I took the tape from school hō h.
		((looks toward kitchen))
	Mother;	((walks toward table))
		what
→	Luina;	((said using smile-voice))
		[

- Mother; you thought I took the tape from school 'hoh°.
 ((moves glass and flips book order form around))
 [m hm:
 Luina; if- if I took the tape (.) from school what would you do?
 Mother; ((takes tape from Luina and puts it over near folder))
 [I'd tell you to make you take it back
 (0.4)
 cause it's not yours ((organizing different piles of paper))
 Luina; m'hm
 (.)
 it was mine.
 (1.0)
 I wanna do this [homework first it's so ea::sy
 (((grabs one of the papers in mother's hand))

Notice how Luina's mother ratifies her as a participant at several points. As Luina begins her initial statement she assumes a funny kind of accent,³⁴ using staccato diction and emphasizing the word "took." Her mother deploys a louder volume minimal grasp repair initiator, thereby granting Luina a chance to continue and possibly clarify her talk. This here carries a double meaning: one of accommodation (letting Luina continue) and no accommodation (Luina *must* continue and possibly amend her talk). Luina does repeat and she takes the opportunity to amend her speech slightly. It is significant that Luina becomes less 'cheeky' as she is granted more chances to re-start the topic. It is significant because she drops the 'cheeky child' voice and assumes a more adult-like voice. Her volume decreases and she drops all of the intensifiers, however she does *not* drop the tags. The mother finally responds affirmatively to Luina's third try. Instead of stopping there, Luina broaches the subject of consequences for stealing and when her mother ratifies the topic by responding to it, Luina emphasizes the fact that she was never guilty in the first place. She is able to accomplish this challenge by lowering her speech and baiting her mother to ratify her not only as a speaking participant, but one who *may* introduce the topic. This is a very different kind of interaction from the ones evident in Seuseu's and Sikê's families. Luina's mother at times allows Luina to initiate challenges about intentions, even when they are directed at her.³⁵ The tags deployed by the other children never index or challenge notions about intentionality.

The last two deployments of tags were successful even though the behaviors which accompanied them might not be considered 'appropriate' of children who are not supposed to 'talk back' or act 'cheeky' in the presence of an adult. Contrasting the two successful tag deployments with Seuseu's attempt to ask permission one instantly notices that the behaviors in the last two transcripts might be construed as inappropriate whereas Seuseu's was not. Unfortunately for Seuseu, the way in which he tried to do 'asking permission' was inappropriate. Therefore, there must be some unique contextual features to the successful tag deployments in the other two families which nullify the questioning of the children's 'inappropriate' behavior.³⁶

EVOLVING (SYNCRETIC) PRACTICES WITHIN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The practices I have been discussing do not happen in a vacuum. They occur in changing social and cultural webs of relationships (Geertz, 1973) and in culturally built material environments (Goodwin & Goodwin, in press). Moreover, these social actors maintain relatively asymmetrical sociocultural relationships with one another. This is not something imagined by researchers. It is a niche of human social interaction.

I have examined the different ways Samoan Americans shape the form of a particular sociolinguistic variable, the tag, which they use within conversation to impact turn taking and speaker selection. Samoan Americans deploy tags to accomplish differential interactional goals. What's more, adults and children do not necessarily deploy tags to achieve the same interactional ends. When Samoan or Samoan American adults deploy a tag they are not necessarily attempting to challenge or subvert their relative social position. Yet children many times do just that when they address adults. *Being able to 'tag' an adult indexes something about the kind of relationship a child might be trying to assert or perhaps it indexes the kind of relationship(s) a child has already been developing with that particular recipient.* Finally, the patterning of inter-generational tag usage is a powerful indicator of such transforming social relationships.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CHANGE

These strategies themselves become a powerful index of not only evolving social relationships but also *cultural as well as linguistic change*. These differentially sanctioned uses of *huh*, between families and within families, is an instance of syncretic practice in action where different social relationships between caregivers and children are negotiated. New kinds of relationships are realized within these families as adult caregivers and children continually respond to transforming cultural and linguistic contexts. The use of tags is one linguistic and cultural bridge which unites Samoa and Los Angeles. Simultaneously, at this same level we notice great cultural and linguistic variation as children index their changing positions alongside other members within the Samoan family hierarchy, simply through their deployment of *huh*.. This kind of change occurs during a thoroughly interactive and syncretic process. To argue that it is necessarily an assimilationist process is to overlook the complexity and intricacy of micro-ethnographic phenomena that constitute people's lives.

APPENDIX: KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Symbol	Phenomena it Represents
1. [or //	Marks overlapping or simultaneous talk or gesture. When the gestures are overlapping two occur, one in the talk that is being overlapped and one just in front of the talk which interrupts. Simultaneous talk and/or gestures are preceded by left-hand brackets.
2. =	Equal signs are used to mark latched talk by two different speakers or to mark continuous talk by the same speaker.
3. (0.0)	Timed intervals between or within utterances are marked in tenths of a second and inserted within parentheses.
4. (.)	A micro-pause. Generally less than (0.2) of a second.
5. -	The hyphen represents a self-cut off or interruption, where by the speaker interrupts or cuts off their own talk.
6. :	It marks stretched or prolonged sounds "S:ound". Prolonged sounds are marked with more colons.
7. .	A period indicates stopping fall in tone.
8. ,	A comma marks continuing intonation.
9. ?	A question mark marks rising inflection.
10. ↑↓	Up and Down arrows mark dramatic changes in pitch.
11. <u>line</u>	The underline marks emphasized talk.
12. °	Talk which occurs between degree signs is significantly softer the speech which surrounds it.
13. HEY	Capitalized letters mark increased volume.
14. 'hh	This marks audible inhalations.
15. (hh)	H's between parentheses inserted within talk mark laughter within talk.
16. (())	Italicized and shrunken font words written inside these double parentheses mark gesture and or particular qualities about the speech like ((<i>funny accent</i>)).
17. ()	Enclosed items between single parentheses mark things that are in doubt or difficult to make out on the original tape.
18. —>	Marks a sequence in the talk to which the reader should pay special attention.
19. " "	Talk inserted between quotation marks are English translations of Samoan talk.

Phonetic symbols	Example in English
ə	sof <u>ə</u>
ʌ	b <u>ʌ</u> t
ɔ	l <u>o</u> ng
h	<u>h</u> ot (h marks aspiration)
ʔ	glottal stop (occurs before all Samoan vowels)
˜	When it occurs over a Samoan vowel it marks long vowel.

NOTES

¹ In 1994 I was presented with the opportunity to explore these emergent practices. I was invited to work as a research assistant on Alessandro Duranti and Elinor Ochs' project on the socialization of problem solving in a Samoan American community in Los Angeles.

² Some of the earliest models of assimilation and acculturation were based on studies in ex-colonies of the 'New World.' See Redfield, Linton & Herskovits (1936) and Herskovits (1937a; 1937b).

³ Apter (1991) writes how Herskovits "essentialized tribal origins in Africa, perpetuated myths of cultural purity in the New World, overlooked class formation, and developed passive notions of acculturation and cultural resistance, all of which distorted the ethnographic record under the guise of an imputed scientific objectivity (Apter, 1991, p. 235)."

⁴ I use 'American-English' to refer to an abstract standard. Americans do constantly evaluate each others' speech based on such a standard.

⁵ Linguistic forms are deployed both at and below the level of discursive consciousness. Silverstein (1981) argues that people have different levels of awareness when they use linguistic forms when they speak; so that some phenomenon are more available for speaker scrutiny (the structurally segmentable; i.e. entire lexical items, affixes, word stems) and manipulation, whereas other phenomenon (non-segmentable and suprasegmentable; i.e. embedded phonological forms like Wasco-Wishram Chinook augmentatives and diminutives and prosodic features respectively) are much more difficult to manipulate as they are so embedded and dependent on the overall form to have any meaning.

⁶ Language thus construed resembles what Wittgenstein (1958) referred to as "language games," whereby people use words as social tools. We must consider the context of the activity in which these phenomena are used in order to understand their meaning.

⁷ The form for minimal grasps in Samoan is either "eā" or "ā" and in English it is "huh". The form for tags in Samoan is `ā and in English it is "huh". There is a continuum of phonetic form between the two codes so that some Samoan `ā sound like English `oh.

⁸ What I am essentially arguing is that there exist parallel linguistic forms associated with the same interactional practices in both Western Samoa and the Los Angeles Samoan community. These practices are informed by community members' presuppositions about how people should appropriately act in the world. However, due to changing social contexts and different individuals' experiences, the way that these parallel forms are being deployed (within the same syntactic sequence and turn) is changing the way some adults are socializing children to interact in the world. Children must learn two appropriate models for engaging the world (the Samoan way and the American way) in order to survive in the Los Angeles Samoan community.

⁹ P. V. Kroskrity, personal communication.

¹⁰ As will be evidenced in the data, children are entitled to initiate other-repair as long as they follow the Samoan practice of minimal grasp. Ochs (1988) argues that these kinds of minimal grasp strategies respect Samoan models in that they do not try to guess others' intentions or what they had 'meant' to say.

¹¹ Pouesi (1994) records that more than 90,000 Samoans live in California.

¹² For example, in the case of Luina's home, when I first started filming her home housed around twelve people. One year later there were twenty-one people—her uncle's family had moved in as had some other visiting cousins from northern California.

¹³ A. Duranti, personal communication.

¹⁴ They depend on older siblings or adults to drive them around since the public transportation system is not readily available or particularly safe for young children.

¹⁵ Refer to the Appendix for a set of transcription symbols.

¹⁶ Ochs (1988, p. 143) writes, "Where the speaker is of low status and/or of lower rank than the hearer, then his or her personal intentions tend to assume low priority in assigning meaning, and the interpretation of the higher-ranking hearer takes precedence. Notice that whether the higher-ranking party is speaker or hearer the higher-ranking party controls the meaning. Given that explicit guessing is tied to the pursuit of the speaker's intentions, it is somewhat understandable, given the comments above, that we would observe very little explicit guessing directed to lower-ranking speakers."

¹⁷ I must clarify that in English, 'what' can also be used to display no understanding whatsoever like 'huh.' It differs from other contexts of usage which do display understanding. Schegloff classifies the first instance of 'what' as an *unspecified interrogative request for a solution*. The second instance of 'what' falls under the *category of constrained interrogative request for a solution*.

¹⁸ There might be other interactional contexts where the subsequent party to talk is not explicitly selected. In other words, the first speaker does not target a particular recipient but rather he/she launches the utterance + tag in the hopes that someone will self-select to respond. However, I have yet to witness this case scenario in the Samoan data.

¹⁹ The prior utterance tends to take the form of assessments or requests. Only Seuseu consistently used tags after requests. Almost all other instances of tag usage occur after assertions which invoke a need for assessment.

²⁰ In *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al., 1985), tag questions most often are considered appendages to statements. Most of the characterizations of tag forms exclude particle forms like those of the Samoan tag and the English "huh". However, the editors do note that tags invite a listener to respond to the previous assertion. "The meanings of these sentences, like their forms, involve a statement and a question; each of them asserts something, then invites the listener's response to it... The tag with rising tone invites verification, expecting the hearer to decide the truth of the proposition in the statement. The tag with the falling tone, on the other hand, invites confirmation of the statement, and has the force of an exclamation rather than a genuine question" (1985, p. 811). I argue that particle forms may also function this way as tags, although they are not being used to invite verification exclusively.

²¹ This is a high pitch 'm' which is interpreted to mean 'yes' in Samoan.

²² There are other examples of this in the corpus of the data. Another instance of this is included in the next section which discusses 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' behaviors.

- 23 Lowered body position is a physical demonstration of respect in Samoa. Children are expected to do so in front of people of high status.
- 24 She is mother to eleven.
- 25 Children also do 'ignoring,' but the context and consequences would be different from the one presented here.
- 26 All of these 'behaviors' accompany instances of tag particle deployment.
- 27 The head shake can mean "no" and it may also be a kind of gestured evaluation of Chuck's way of asking.
- 28 She could have responded to him during the first gap where his second utterance was possibly complete, but she did not. This resembles the ignoring strategy used by her previously. However, this time she does respond to him with a disapproving head nod. There is a total avoidance of talk.
- 29 Of course, it is possible that the mother didn't want to give him a toy and so she ignored him. The point is that she ignored him and he doesn't succeed in getting what he wants.
- 30 Mata is an adopted child of Sikê's grandparents, but every one treats her like Sikê's sister. In the videos she addresses the grandparents as mom and dad while Sikê calls them grandmother and grandfather.
- 31 'sh::' is a Samoan attention getting device.
- 32 'Successful' tag deployment I had previously considered to be maintaining adult attention and not being scolded. In this particular instance, Sikê's aunt does continue to monitor the conversation and she does not scold him nor does not affirm his assertion. One might then consider the existence of different levels of 'success' which might not be so marked as 'eliciting an affirmative verbal response' from the recipient.
- 33 We know this because she says so in the earlier interaction. She argued that she was justified in taking the tape to school because, according to Luina (which we recorded on tape), the teacher hoarded it from the students.
- 34 This voice in this instance is one where Luina affects a funny accent which is semi-accusatory. It is hard to describe exactly what kind of voice Luina might be assuming. It is definitely marked and probably one of many voices that she may assume in her private repertoire of voices.
- 35 Other children subvert parents/adults, but not in the same way. These interactions are not represented here as they do not contain tags. The point is that the ability to use tags symbolically elevates the child to seeming 'adult' status as they are able to converse using tags. Moreover, the children accomplish different illocutionary acts through the deployment of these tags.
- 36 Ochs notes that adults explicitly socialize appropriate behavior whilst 'cheeky' behavior is covertly cultivated. By investigating these kinds of interactions we may have a way of getting at these subtle ways that adults encourage those behaviors which are not considered appropriate.

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The Social Construction of Mathematical Knowledge: Presented Problems in Mathematics Classrooms

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This study examined how mathematical problems are articulated, i.e., identified and defined, in the context of a fifth-grade lesson on equivalent fractions. Opportunities to participate in mathematical discourse and reasoning activities were closely related to the structure, organization, and content of classroom presented problems. In this lesson, the presented problem took the form of a concatenation of tasks. Each task in the series became the mathematical context that animated students' talk about solution methods. Classroom discourse limited to serial tasks constrained students' opportunities to develop relational knowledge about the properties and principles of equivalent fractions.

Does a child learn only to talk, or also to think? Does it learn the sense of multiplication before or after it learns multiplication?

Wittgenstein, Zettel, p. 324

INTRODUCTION

In traditional research into mathematics education, domain knowledge such as conceptual understandings of rational numbers is studied independent of the social context. The epistemological basis for this approach to the study of mathematics assumes a dichotomous relationship between the mind and the world and thus views cognition as an internal and individual process (von Glasersfeld, 1991). The cognitivist framing of mathematical knowledge production accounts for the valued and widely practiced tradition of conceptualizing mathematical problems as static products to be used either as problem-solving practice or as vehicles to assess children's knowledge and/or thinking processes (Kieren, 1985; Smith, 1995). From this perspective, mathematical problems reify the salient dimensions of a problem environment so that when the issue of context comes into the foreground it is framed as an individual's interpretation and use of contextual clues during mathematical problem-solving events (cf. Littlefield & Rieser, 1993). It follows, then, that research into mathematics education would separate teaching from learning since

the contextual clues inherent in the social organization of classrooms are considered structurally independent from the variables they are to explain.

Presently, there is a sea change occurring in educational research in general and in mathematics research in particular. With increasing frequency, cognition is viewed as a "transactional" process (Dewey & Bently, 1949) between individuals and the social context (Saxe, 1991; Stone, 1996). A theoretical treatment of the relationship between context and cognition is found in the cultural-historical school of psychology developed by Vygotsky (1978) and elaborated in the works of Leont'ev (1981), and Luria (1976). From the cultural-historical view, individual cognition arises from participation in social practices in which both the child and the social *milieu* are active. From this view, learning and development occur as children's participation is transformed through their active involvement in culturally organized activities (Ochs, 1988; Rogoff, 1990, in press). Participation in routine activities provides the concrete situations in which cognitive processes are constructed and applied (Cole, forthcoming). However, Giddens (1984) argues that the relationship between patterns of activity and cultural practices are mutually constituted. Accordingly, it is reasonable to say that how one makes sense out of mathematical knowledge cannot be separated from an underlying structure of cultural practices and their history of meanings. This characterization of classroom culture suggests that practices and knowledge construction are constituted in the accomplishment of practical activity.

Since classroom cultures in the form of daily practices provide the medium in which children come to know and understand mathematics in a formal setting, the research in this article provides a structural analysis of how mathematical problems are articulated, i.e., how problems are defined and represented through vocal, nonvocal, and written language. Problem articulation is both more interesting and complex than a cursory glance would reveal. While the notion of problem articulation entails a definition and representation of a problem, any potentially problematic situation (e.g., $3/4 = x/12$) necessarily requires someone to view it as a problem, i.e., a goal framework. So, what may appear at first glance to be a static event, i.e., a statement of a problem, is more accurately viewed as the result of a dynamic and complex process of interaction in which students come to understand the meaning of mathematical problems. Thus, during problem articulation activities students take on a problematic situation as their own, understand just what is expected of them in relation to the situation, have access to resources for finding a solution, and opportunities to utilize these resources. The significant issue, then, is how participation in the situated practices of problem articulation provides access to resources and opportunities for students to develop mathematical understandings.

To investigate how problems become goal frameworks and create resources and opportunities for mathematical reasoning and knowledge production, this study investigates one type of problem articulation, presented problems. A presented problem is characteristic of classroom mathematical problems in which

the solution/s and procedures are already known to the teacher but not necessarily to the students. Presented problems are interactional achievements in which students come to see particular situations as tasks that need to be accomplished. The cognitive consequences of identifying and defining a problem during social interaction arise from an ensuing emergent framework used to interpret what constitutes a problem, what are important attributes of a problem, and how to solve problems. In addition to developing an understanding of the meaning of mathematical problems, the organization of a presented problem creates events in which students are encouraged to participate in activities such as explaining and justifying. For these reasons presented problems offer a richly textured site for the study of mathematical learning.

The presented problems selected for this study involve the property of equivalency in fractions or rational numbers in the form p/q where p and q are integers (Behr et al., 1992). The property of equivalency in fractions is simply the idea that there are multiple ways of representing the same number. This transitive relationship of equivalent fractions is often difficult for children to understand because of their previous experiences with natural numbers which have a distinct symbol for each number (Smith, 1995). Since equivalency in fractional numbers is the topic of the focal lesson in these data, an integral part of this data analysis is to determine to what extent students had opportunities to develop complex understandings about the properties of equivalency.

A detailed analysis of presented problems involving equivalent fractions was conducted for two significant reasons. First, the identification and representation of problems are considered to be important aspects of both problem solving and the development of expertise (Carpenter et al., 1993). Second, research into the domain of fractions is warranted since there is a general consensus that fractions are both a difficult topic for children to master and a topic for which many children and adults do not have competent understandings (Behr et al., 1983; Davydov & Tsvetkovich, 1991). Consequently, a better understanding of classroom social practices used for the teaching and learning of fractions may help us better organize instructional environments so that students' poor performances are remedied.

METHOD

Data Sampling

The analysis in this article focuses on one lesson from an American classroom. The data set is part of a corpus of ten fifth-grade lessons selected from an investigation funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) on mathematics education in the United States and Japan. Classrooms in this NSF study are located in urban school districts of Japan and the United States and serve middle to upper middle class students. Although individual schools were

randomly selected, site administrators worked with the NSF research group to offer teachers the opportunity to participate in a study of mathematics. Thus, all teachers and students in the data sample were volunteers.

The data collection method in this study involved video taping lessons with two cameras. One camera focused on the teacher while another focused on the students. This two-camera technique rendered this classroom data set an excellent resource for studying how problems are interactively identified and represented. That is, by affording visual and auditory access to both teacher and students concurrently, it became possible to conduct a study that used discourse and conversation analytic methodologies.

Classroom discursive processes offer the most direct evidence possible about situated reasoning in relation to the social organization and content of mathematics lessons. For this reason, discourse and conversation analytic methodologies were used to conduct a detailed examination of how cognitive processes and products arise during the enactment of mathematical events (cf. Duranti, forthcoming; Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1991). Further, since presented problems are not necessarily the same for all participants (cf. Lave et al., 1984), it is the communicative processes of classroom mathematics, and more specifically, the cultural practice of collective problem solving that can be analyzed to determine how 'intellectual' activity is shaped by interactional resources and opportunities. To enhance the analysis and fully explore the relations of situated action, language, and mathematical content, a complementary methodology of video technology (i.e., analysis of individual video frames) was employed to provide a means of closely examining presented problems for both their non-verbal content (e.g., gestures, eye-gaze, body positioning) and their mathematical artifacts.

RESULTS

Lesson Overview: Finding Equivalent Fractions

The following lesson is a fifth-grade introduction to the concept of equivalent fractions. The teacher in this study provided students with geoboards to empirically investigate solutions to a presented problem. In addition, students were expected to publicly display their solutions by going to the front of the classroom and drawing their results on an overhead using pre-made two-dimensional diagrams of geoboards. The sequential patterns in this lesson consisted of a recurring cycle of classwork interlaced with seatwork, i.e., small group work. Classwork segments, the focus of this study, were made up of a teacher-presented problem with multiple tasks and student-shared solutions.

Presented Problems: Organizing and Structuring Experience

Presented problems are initiated through multiple interactional sequences in which the meaning of a problem is realized over time. Thus, presented problems cannot be understood by simply invoking an internal understanding or mental representation but must be understood as a "special part, phase, or aspect, of...[the] experienced world" (Dewey, 1938, p. 67). In this way, presented problems become a social activity in which participation stimulates the co-production of a particular form of cultural knowledge, i.e., mathematics.

In what follows, I show how the structure and organization of presented problems are interrelated with the discourse and reasoning processes afforded in classroom mathematics practices. One aspect of presented problem activities is revealed in Example 1 in which the teacher, Mrs. Kim, initiates the instructional activity aimed at equivalent fractions.

Example 1: Teacher's Initiation of the Presented Problem



Mrs. Kim:	O:kay: if you can: right now let's look up here.	1
	((Pointing finger to chalkboard behind her.))	2
	(1.2)	3
	And lea:ve the geoboards for just a few minutes.	4
	(4.7)	5
	((Students are cleaning up their desks. Noise levels begin to drop.))	6

The above example demonstrates an interesting structural feature of classroom presented problems found in these data. Presented problems are events in which the interactional accomplishment of the activity minimally involves the co-management of joint attention. Co-attending to an event is accomplished during the initiation of the presented problem activity when the teacher marks what Goffman (1974) calls an attentional track. That is, by

requesting students to refocus their attention and reorient their eye gaze on the front of the classroom in this setting (lines 1-4), the teacher frames the activity as one in which important information about present and future events will be generated from a specific position in the classroom. In other words, the 'main story line' will arise from a particular spatial area and thus necessarily requires that all participants orient their attention to this space (Goffman, 1974; Kendon, 1990). In this way, the initial elicitation in lines 1 and 4 along with the teacher's gesture (i.e., pointing to the blackboard) not only help to organize students' attention spatially but also foregrounds future events. Moreover, the occurrence of multiple pauses (lines 3 and 5) in the teacher's production of utterances provides further evidence that this attention focusing request was important since some minimal attentional level had to be achieved and demonstrated by students before the activity would continue as part of the formal structure of the lesson.

After shifting attention to a specific area of the classroom, Mrs. Kim and the students co-participate in the "development of a social setting" for the presented problem (Stone, 1996). Social settings are a form of introduction that produce a spatial, temporal, and linguistic "bracketing" of presented problem events (Goffman, 1974). This bracketing contributes to an interpretive frame for participants to make sense out of mathematics problems. Social setting activities shape the organization of experience as presented problem activities unfold in time and space. In Example 2 below, the social setting emerges as Mrs. Kim constructs an explanation about a past event to explain why geoboards will be used to divide a geometric shape into equal parts.

Example 2: Social Setting as an Explanation for Past Activity

Mrs. Kim:	I brought in: (1.4) ↑six: >peanut butter sandwiches.<	8
	One for each table.	9
	(5.1)	10
	((Students continue to clear desks. Room noise level drops noticeably))	11
	I only had peanut butter at home. I didn't have anything else so it had to be	12
	peanut butter.	13
	(1.6)	14
	Usually we think (.) in terms of a piece of bread looking like a square.	15
	(2.7)	16
	((Holding up a geoboard))	

In this explanation, Mrs. Kim is linking a common, everyday item, i.e., a peanut butter sandwich, to the shape of a geoboard (lines 15-16). Since, in Mrs. Kim's view, the shapes of bread and geoboards are isomorphic, the geoboard will function as the mathematical environment for the presented problem. Reference to the sandwich occurs only in the initial statement of the presented problem. All the presented problems that follow are related to the geoboard. This teacher's use of an explanation to relate mathematical artifacts such as geoboards to the daily experiences of children is found in many of the classrooms in this data set. Further, explicit instruction or verbal explanation is one common way that teachers assist children in connecting mathematical models and real world

situations. However, in this setting, references to the similarity between sandwiches and geoboards fade after the initial few minutes of the lesson. Since neither the teacher nor the students made any future references to the geoboard as sandwiches, there were few structured opportunities for children to participate in collective reasoning activities that systematically connected geoboards with daily experiences.

To return to the presented problem, after identifying the mathematical environment as geoboards, Mrs. Kim explicitly states the mathematical task, i.e., divide the sandwich into halves (Example 3, lines 19-20 below). The statement of task is also combined with information about how speakers will be selected (line 24).

Example 3: Presented Problem Task

Mrs. Kim:	Our ta:sk to:day (.) is to divide: that sandwhic::h (0.9) into	19
	(.) halves.	20
	(0.8)	21
	How can you divide that sandwich into halves?	22
	(0.6)	23
	I'll remember I'll just call on you.	24
	(0.7)	25

By combining a mathematical environment with a task or an elicitation to act on that environment, the problem is presented. That is, the task of dividing the sandwich into halves transforms the mathematical environment into a condition that necessarily requires students to act upon it in some way. In other words, elicitations function in very powerful ways to organize the activity such that students fully expect to respond in some way to a mathematical environment.

In educational settings, there is and has historically been an asymmetrical relationship between students and teacher. This relationship is overtly configured in this setting when the teacher states that she will select or "call on" a student to provide an answer (line 24). The overall shape of this presented problem activity, then, organizes speaker selection as falling under the aegis of the teacher. Since responsibility for elicitations resides primarily in the teacher's purview, questioning and clarification activities tend to be initiated by the teacher and not the students. Further, it will be shown that the structure of presented problems in this classroom rendered differing solutions to problems as the object of inquiry for the teacher rather than the students. In this way the social organization of presented problems stimulated some forms of interaction and constrained others.

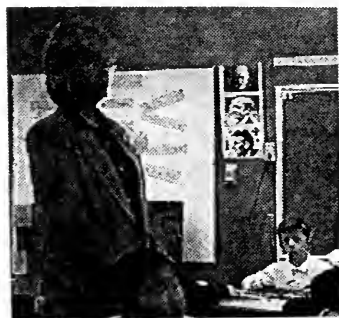
While the core of this presented problem is captured in the task in Example 3, the shaping of the presented problem in this setting continues to develop as the interaction continues. An example that characterizes this development is demonstrated in Example 4 when Mrs. Kim asks a student to share a solution.

Example 4: Shaping of a Presented Problem

Mrs. Kim:	<u>Would you come up to the board and show us one way we could divide er</u>	26
	up to the overhead one way we can divide.	27
	(0.6)	28
	((looking around the room.))	29
David:		30

The elicitation in lines 26 and 27 configures the presented problem activities in very important ways. Students now expect not only to have a solution to a problem but also to display the solution in an area of the room that has been marked previously as important. Another critical feature of the teacher's discourse is the use of "one way" to signal that solutions are not single correct answers but rather candidate solutions. Thus problems in this classroom are linguistically crafted as having multiple solutions rather than one single correct solution. This shaping of a problem creates an expectation about mathematical problems that potentially shifts the understanding of the presented problems from algorithmic procedures to a field of possibilities. These data suggest that when this exploration perspective on presented problems is an integral part of the activity then presented problems become a potential resource for probing mathematical solutions rather than a means to access a static body of knowledge. This exploration approach differs from what has been found in many United States classrooms in which single correct answers are the preferred response to an elicitation (cf. Voigt, 1989; Stone, 1994).

So far, I have shown that presented problems are initiated by activities that organize students' attention and provide background information for a problem. Further, the kernel activity of presenting a problem is characterized by a mathematical environment and a task. Nonetheless, the meaning of a presented problem continues to develop during social interaction. Examples 5 and 6 illustrate how the interactional shaping of a presented problem develops.

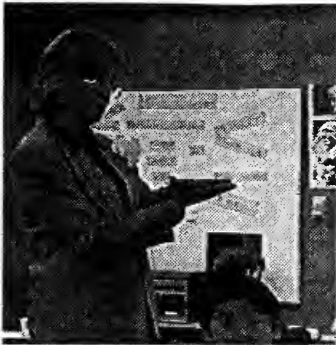
Example 5: Interactional Accomplishment of the Presented Problem

Mrs. Kim:	Jen:ni:fer do you have a↑nother way?	80
Jennifer:	((Walks to the overhead and draws a diagonal line on the picture of a geoboard as the teacher and students watch.))	81
		82

Two significant features of this teacher's talk further shape and reshape the original activity of dividing a sandwich into halves. First, when asking a second student, Jennifer, if she has a solution, Mrs. Kim's elicitation again mirrors the idea of candidate solutions with the words, "do you have another way". This casting of a problem as having more than one solution method is a typical example of the teacher's persistent framing of problems as tools for exploration. Moreover, the linguistic resources Mrs. Kim uses to construct this particular view of problems also function as resources for students to interpret responses to mathematical problems as possibilities or candidate solutions. In this way, the meaning of presented problems continued to be shaped by ongoing activities, e.g., elicitations.

The nature of students' opportunities to use the mathematical discourse of this classroom is illuminated in Example 6 below.

Example 6: Opportunities for Explanations



Mrs. Kim:	↑Jennifer, why did you (.) why tell us	83
	why did you thin:k that's divided in half?	84
	(0.8)	85
Jennifer:	Well:: it's the same on the top and the	86
	bottom.	87
	(0.6)	88
Mrs. Kim:	Can you prove: that to us?	89
Jennifer:	Well uh if you fold it over then it's ()	90
Mrs. Kim:	Oh:: if you: just folded it such as a piece	91
	of paper: it would match up. (.) all right.	92
	((Making a folding motion with her hands.	93
	Jennifer nodding her head.))	94

In this example, Mrs. Kim's elicitations created "slots" for explanation and justification activities (Antaki, 1994). That is, the preferred sequential response to the request for information "...tell us why you think that's divided in half?" is an explanation (Schegloff, 1991). When this elicitation is followed by "Can you prove that to us?", Jennifer produces a justification for her response. Of significance is that the "conditional relevance" of these particular requests makes

the student accountable for providing reasons and explanations (Schegloff, 1968). In this way the social organization of talk about problems created opportunities for students to provide reasons for their solutions. The activity, then, is more an exploration rather than a simple checking of answers. Inasmuch as the discourse practices in this classroom involve a language game that stimulates students to justify their solutions, these particular elicitations create very powerful expectations that invoke a particular relationship between mathematical content and modes of interaction. Accordingly, children are provided opportunities to display their mathematical knowledge. While the mathematical understandings demonstrated in these activities are not complex, i.e., showing how to fold or partition a shape into equal segments, the children's justifications can be considered informal forms of mathematical proofs (an essential element of a mathematical proof is an argument in which evidence for a valid conclusion is demonstrated). In this setting, children had opportunities to participate, however informally, in the mathematical practice of constructing proofs.

In this lesson, the core sequence of mathematical ideas involved relating a spatial representation of $1/2$ on a geoboard to an equivalent spatial fraction, e.g., $2/4$, $4/8$, and so forth. In other words, students were expected to use their geoboards to investigate equivalency relationships through successive permutations of a similar task. Consequently, a presented problem was made up of a *series* of tasks or presented problem elements. Further, the final task element of the presented problem, i.e., "...prove to the person sitting either on your right or left. You need to prove to this person that $1/2 = 2/4$ " did not vary in any substantive way from the tasks that preceded it. Thus, the students arrive at an increased level of complexity through their participation in a progression of tasks which, in succession, offer only minor differences in terms of complexity or novelty.

In this setting, the structure of the presented problem involved requests to act repeatedly upon the same mathematical environment. When problem environments remain constant, there is essentially one presented problem developing out of a concatenation of tasks. For this reason, the articulation of this presented problem extended throughout this lesson. The organization of a problem into a series of tasks that function as problem elements not only organized mathematical content but also shaped the discourse practices in this classroom. The serial organization of tasks configured mathematical content in this lesson as pairs of fractions (e.g., $1/2$ and $2/4$) to be compared. The construction of these fractional parts became the basis for mathematical talk in this lesson. Thus, the organization of the lesson afforded particular types of mathematical reasoning. Since children's opportunities for participating in reasoning activities were influenced by the mathematical content, the form and organization of mathematical content can also be considered a structural resource that contributes to how mathematical communication unfolds.

The overall structure of the presented problem as a series of tasks, however, constrained the knowing and doing of mathematics in significant ways.

Although the mathematical content becomes increasingly complex (i.e., each task was a slightly more complicated permutation of the previous task) this content did not lead to any noticeable conversational reasoning about properties or principles of equivalency in fractions. Moreover, the stepwise sequence of problems structured students' strategies into patterned responses. As an example, developing an explanation of how to divide a rectangle into two equal portions is not fundamentally different from explaining how to divide the same shape into four equal portions. To the extent that repetitive procedures could be used to complete the collection of problem tasks, the structure of the presented problem confined children's mathematical reasoning to explanations about the procedures for breaking up a space and comparing two fractional parts. As a consequence, explanation/justification activities did not play a substantive part in relating each of the series of tasks to conceptual understandings of equivalent fractions. That is, children did not have opportunities to talk about or evaluate patterned relationships among equivalent fractions for one half during whole group activities.

In effect, the structure and organization of the mathematical activity in this lesson determined the focus of evaluative or metapragmatic language about mathematical content. Metapragmatic discourse is language that "signals" how practical activity is to be interpreted (Lucy, 1993). In mathematics, metapragmatic language entails, at least in part, a discussion of how mathematical content or patterns are related and further what this relationship means. Therefore, metapragmatic language is a form of reflection-in-talk about ongoing events in which participants take a perspective on practical activity. Furthermore, from a Bakhtinian (1981) viewpoint, taking a perspective on mathematical endeavors requires that children reflect on mathematical content to "recall, weigh and [analyze] other people's words, opinions, assertions, information" (p.338). In mathematics, this is a removed stance from which to draw iterative conclusions about patterned relationships that arise from mathematical activity. Since metapragmatic talk potentially redirects attention to the salient features of mathematical activity and thus organizes perception, important aspects of mathematical content and concepts can be highlighted.

However, in this data set the serial structure of the mathematical problem constrained metatalk to individual problem elements of the presented problem. Thus, while the elicitations of the teacher in these data did encourage students to explain and, thus, reflect on the relationships between separate sets of equivalent fractions like $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{4}{8}$, these elicitations did not stimulate students to take a more removed perspective and consider the relationship of all of the problem elements constructed in this activity. In other words, the students did not explore the significance of equivalency by utilizing multiple examples of fractional numbers, e.g., $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{8}{16}$, $\frac{32}{64}$. The result is that students did not have structured opportunities to talk about and reflect on the significance of the relationships found among equivalent fractions. As a consequence, the social organization of this lesson did not capitalize on the structural resources of

mathematical content, i.e., recurring patterns. In this setting, then, the structure of the presented problem constrained how the discourse of pragmatic activity was "interanimated" with metapragmatic language (Bakhtin, 1981).

This study of presented problems suggests that the traditional approach of separating content knowledge (e.g., presented problems) from instructional practices provides only a partial picture of how mathematical knowledge is produced. The data in this study also suggest that whole-group activities in which problems are articulated involve a dialectical process of interaction between the complex organization of mathematical practices and individual actions within those practices. The structure of the presented problems organized the moment-to-moment activities of questioning, justifying, and explaining. Pragmatic forms of action, then, shaped mathematical cognition. For this reason, knowing and doing mathematics is "crafted" from participation in social practices, discourse processes, and mathematical content used in the service of problem solving (cf. Goodwin, 1994). As a result, the production of mathematical knowledge results not only from the domain topic under consideration, i.e., principles and properties of equivalent fractions, but also from the context of use and how that context is created and recreated during ongoing activity. Thus, Rogoff's (in press) metaphor of cognitive development as changing participation can be understood better by examining children's mathematical activities as they make use of the available resources of the classroom to think, talk, and do mathematics. Participation in classroom mathematical practices affords resources and opportunities for children to produce mathematical knowledge.

Certainly the enterprise of classroom mathematics instruction is motivated by larger concerns to educate children in very productive ways. Children's participation in the communicative and reasoning processes of mathematics is central to current reform policies in mathematics education (cf. National Council of Teachers of Mathematics [NCTM], 1989, 1991). Further, mathematical problems in school reform literature are viewed not as practice tasks but complex wholes having multiple solutions that provide a basis for talking and thinking (NCTM, 1989). It is significant, then, that Mrs. Kim's classroom evidenced an interesting blend of traditional practices in which mathematical problems often consist of a series of similar tasks with single correct answers and reform oriented practices that cast problems as complex entities with multiple solutions. In other words, in this classroom, traditional configurations of problems as serial tasks become the object of talk about multiple solutions. This combination of new and old practice may account, in part, for the constraints on students' opportunities to produce and communicate complex conceptual knowledge about equivalency and its properties. The implication is that learning about and creating reform-oriented classrooms is not an either-or proposition but rather a continuum that reflects a process of conceptual development. For this reason, I am suggesting that the metaphor of changing participation is not limited to a study of the learning and development of children

but also includes the learning and development of teachers. Coming to understand the pragmatic meanings of reform is not qualitatively different from developing understandings of mathematics; both involve conceptual, procedural, and social knowledge (cf. Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991).

APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Transcription conventions used in this paper were developed by Gail Jefferson for the analysis of conversational turn taking sequences (see Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974).

Symbol	Meaning
()	Unclear speech
(())	Paralinguistic information about context
(.)	Untimed pauses
(2.1)	Pauses in seconds and tenths of seconds
[Simultaneous start-ups or overlaps
=	Contiguous utterances
::	Extension of sound
↑ or ↓	Up or downward shifts in intonation
!	Animated tone
Underlined or bold words	Increased stressed
° hello °	Quiet talk in relation to surrounding speech

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ISSN 0143-4632 6 x p.a. Library/Institution Individual/School/Student
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The Participation Framework as a Mediating Tool in Kindergarten Journal Writing Activity

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Drawing on data collected in an ethnographic study of kindergarten journal writing activity, this article demonstrates how students who are not directly participating in instruction are nevertheless key contributors to the social construction of literacy knowledge. More specifically, this study examines how the participation framework of writing activity constitutes and is constituted by the context for learning to write. Five interconnected roles in the participation framework are identified in the data and presented as a shared indexical context within which children's texts are interactionally negotiated. The author argues for a reconceptualization of classroom language and literacy practices from current dyadic-based participation frameworks to more expanded multi-party participation frameworks that allow for flexible access to the social construction of literacy knowledge. By changing the ways in which students participate in school-based literacy practices, students will be socialized to more democratic access to participation in classrooms and in the larger society. This reconceptualization of classroom language and literacy practices attempts to disrupt monolithic definitions of literacy as a reified set of "neutral" skills by challenging the sanctity of dyadic interaction in literacy activity.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the ways in which the participation framework (Duranti, in preparation; Goffman, 1974, 1981; Goodwin, M., 1990; Philips, 1983) mediates learning to write among novice writers in kindergarten. More specifically, I argue that, through analysis of the participation framework as a structure that organizes and is organized by talk (Goffman, 1981) in writing activity, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the central role that overhearers play in the profoundly social process of learning to write.

The data presented are representative samples from a larger data set collected over the course of an academic year in a Los Angeles area elementary school. The classroom context for this study is located in a K-5 elementary school in a small community near West Los Angeles. The school serves approximately 600

students from diverse racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. The classroom itself is one of three kindergarten classes at the school. The morning language arts period was observed once a week throughout the academic year. Journal writing activity was videotaped weekly beginning in January. Participant observer field notes were taken during these observations, informal and formal interviews of both the teacher and the students were conducted throughout the study, and children's written products were collected after each observation. (see Larson, 1995a, for a more detailed discussion of the context and methodology used for the larger project).

The writing activity chosen for focused analysis is a dictated journal writing activity that typically occurs immediately following the morning reading time. The teacher, Janet, hands out journals to each student and directs them to one of two large tables available for journal writing. Janet has designed her role in this activity to serve as scribe for students' daily journal entries and, as students gain in writing competence over the course of the school year, she gradually decreases this role, handing over responsibility for writing to the students. She has implicit and explicit norms that regulate interaction in this writing activity that, over time, become a normative structure through which the children are socialized to accepted practices of participation. The resulting participation framework constituted the linguistic context for learning in this particular writing activity (Larson, 1995a, 1995b).

Drawing on cultural-historical and sociocultural theories of learning (Cole, 1985; Gutierrez, 1992, 1993; Langer, 1987; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Moll, 1990; Rogoff, 1990, 1994; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Vygotsky, 1962, 1978; Wertsch, 1991) and theories of language socialization and discourse analysis (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Fairclough, 1992; Goodwin, M., 1990; Ochs, 1988, 1992; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), the larger study examines how context, interaction and discourse both reflect and create the social processes involved in learning to write. Research questions focus, generally, on how literacy knowledge is distributed and appropriated in writing activity. Specifically, the project focused on the following research questions:

1. How is literacy knowledge distributed and appropriated through talk and interaction in kindergarten journal writing activity?
2. What is the nature of the participation framework in this journal writing activity and how is it constructed over time?
 - 2.1 What particular conditions and forms of interaction within the participation framework constitute the context within which the social distribution of literacy knowledge occurs?
 - 2.2 What is the role of the participation framework in this knowledge distribution process?
3. What participant roles, in particular, are created as children talk during writing activity and how do these emerging roles contribute to the socially mediated process of learning to write?

In this paper, I will focus primarily on the participation framework and what participant roles are created in the course of interaction and how these roles mediate learning to write.

The examination of participant roles is made possible through micro-analysis of the connection between knowledge distribution and shifts in *footing* (Goffman, 1981), or participant roles, within the participation framework of the activity. Five mutually constituted roles have been identified in the participation framework: teacher/scribe; primary author; pivot (Goffman, 1981); peripheral respondent; and overhearer (Larson, 1995b). I argue that it is through these changing roles that both teacher and students create a spontaneous process of literacy knowledge distribution that results in socially shared and distributed learning. This paper focuses specifically on the role of overhearer. In the following discussion, I will briefly describe the five roles that emerge in the participation framework, then will elaborate more specifically on the role of overhearer as active participant in the social construction of literacy knowledge.

AVAILABLE ROLES IN THE PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK

In the role of teacher/scribe, the teacher is available for each student author as they finish drawing their story and express to her that they are ready for her to write with them. As scribe, she writes their dictated story for them to copy into their journal. The primary author is the student whose dictation the teacher is currently taking. The pairing of the teacher/scribe and the primary author constitutes the primary dyad. As the primary dyad is established, the role of the peripheral participants, such as overhearer, becomes a requisite position in the participation framework. Overhearers are those students who are seated at the journal writing table and who listen in on the talk and interaction as each primary author publicly writes her story (cf. Heritage, 1985). The roles of peripheral respondent and pivot emerge as the interaction evolves and is transformed from primarily dyadic to more multi-party discourse structures. The peripheral respondent role can be filled by one or more students who answer questions posed to the primary author by the teacher from a position outside of the predominantly dyadic interactional space between the teacher/scribe and the primary author. The pivot may emerge from both the peripheral respondent role and from the role of overhearer as knowledge that is placed on the conversational floor is unintentionally brought into further interactions or into written journal entries. These roles are mutually constituted and emerge over time in daily interaction, thereby forming the normative participation framework, or shared indexical ground (Hanks, 1990), of this writing activity. In this way, a common understanding of the meanings, limitations and potential of literacy knowledge is made available to the students through flexible participation frameworks.

ESTABLISHING THE PRIMARY DYAD

The primary dyad, or teacher/scribe and primary author, serves as the starting point of the emerging participant roles in this activity and begins the dictation process. Students indicate their readiness to dictate their stories in a variety of ways including eye gaze, body position, and direct verbal request for assistance. The primary dyad is established as the teacher identifies a primary author, or student who is ready to dictate her story, then arranges the environment so as to establish a predominantly dyadic interactional space. The teacher moves to position herself next to the author and closes off the physical space by lowering her body and shifting her body position to face the student. These gestures, in combination with verbal statements, orient students' attention to the tools of writing, specifically the journal page itself. The teacher then begins her role as scribe as she writes the story of the primary author on a sentence strip.

This teacher typically indirectly indexes writing instruction by establishing the dictation frame through routinized opening utterances (e.g. "Is anybody ready?"), eye gaze, and gesture (e.g. bending over one student who is currently writing). While only one student at a time, the primary author, receives direct instruction from the teacher, peripheral participants respond to the teacher's indexicals of instruction by taking up complimentary roles such as overhearer, peripheral respondent and pivot. In excerpt one¹ below, the teacher is distributing journals to students while several have begun to draw or write in their journals. She identifies Joseph as the next student ready for dictation, opens the sequence by asking "Are you ready sir," and walks over to where he is sitting and kneels down on the floor next to him.

Excerpt 1:

- Teacher: Are you ready sir ((*looking at Joseph's journal as she kneels down*))
 Joseph: Yeah ((*looking down at his paper*))
 Teacher: Okay
 ((*begins to look through previous pages*))
 (2.1)
 You wanna go back and look at some of your other pages,
 or do you want to start on this one.
 ((*lowers her body, leans in closer to Joseph and looks directly at his face*))
 Joseph: [I'll ()]
 ((*taps pencil on page of journal as he indicates where*))
 Student: [Mrs. Taylor I'm do[↑]ne]
 ((*from off camera*))
 Teacher: Okay
 ((*sits up, reaches in front of Joseph for sentence strip*))
 (2.0)
 Student: Teacher I'm done
 ((*from off camera*))
 Teacher: ° I'll be with you in a minute°
 ((*looks at student off camera as she brings back the sentence strip*))
 (2.1)
 °Okay°
 ((*folds elbows on table, lowers body and looks at Joseph*))

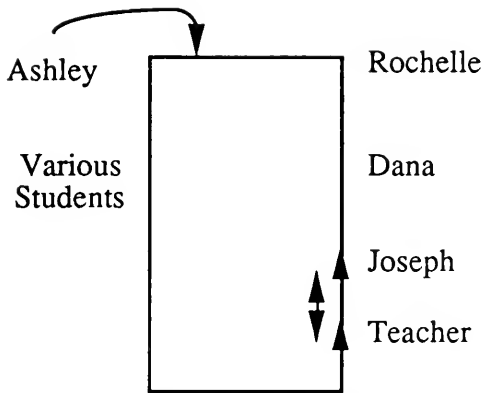


Figure 1. Establishing the Primary Dyad

While the above interaction is predominantly dyadic, the dynamic nature of the talk and the overlapping, simultaneous occurrence of all of the participant roles puts the teacher in the position of managing multiple dyads. Students call for her attention, and respond as peripheral respondents and overhearers in the course of the interaction. In order to achieve her goal of finishing all the students' journal entries, she must focus her attention on the primary author while not shutting down the other participants. She accomplishes this goal by shifting her attention to other students in what is termed *dyadic turns* (Larson, 1995b). The teacher briefly shifts her attention from the primary dyad to answer a question, give directions and/or instructions, or talk to another adult. For example, the teacher may maintain a verbal dyad but shift her eye gaze to the peripheral respondent. In addition, the primary author may also direct her eye gaze to the peripheral respondent in a non-verbal triadic participation framework.

In excerpt one above, a dyadic turn occurs towards the end of the interaction and is representative of a verbal response. A student, who is off camera, has twice stated "Teacher I'm done." After the second utterance, the teacher states quietly "I'll be with you in a minute" as she turns to look at the student. She quickly turns to look back at the sentence strip she has brought to complete the journal entry, thereby continuing the flow of interaction with Joseph. This brief shift in attention was found to be a common occurrence as the teacher attempted to manage the variety of overlapping student demands for her attention.

PERIPHERAL PARTICIPANTS

The talk that occurs between the teacher/scribe and the primary author during journal writing activity takes place in the "visual and auditory range of persons who are not ratified participants and whose access to the encounter, however minimal, is itself perceivable by the official participants" (Goffman, 1981, p. 132). This participation status is referred to here as peripheral participant. To be participate peripherally means to have access to socially mediated learning through increasing involvement in the unfolding interaction (Lave & Wenger, 1991). From the position of peripheral participant, three more refined roles emerge: the role of pivot, the role of peripheral respondent, and the role of overhearer. In other words, the point of reference in interaction moves beyond the notion of a speaker/recipient dyad to a more inclusive model that acknowledges all the participants as actively engaged in the writing activity.

In the role of pivot² (see figure 2), a student opens interaction between participants and distributes literacy knowledge from the primary dyad to other activity participants, thereby redefining their status from overhearers to interlocutors and establishing a secondary dyadic frame in relation to the primary dyad.

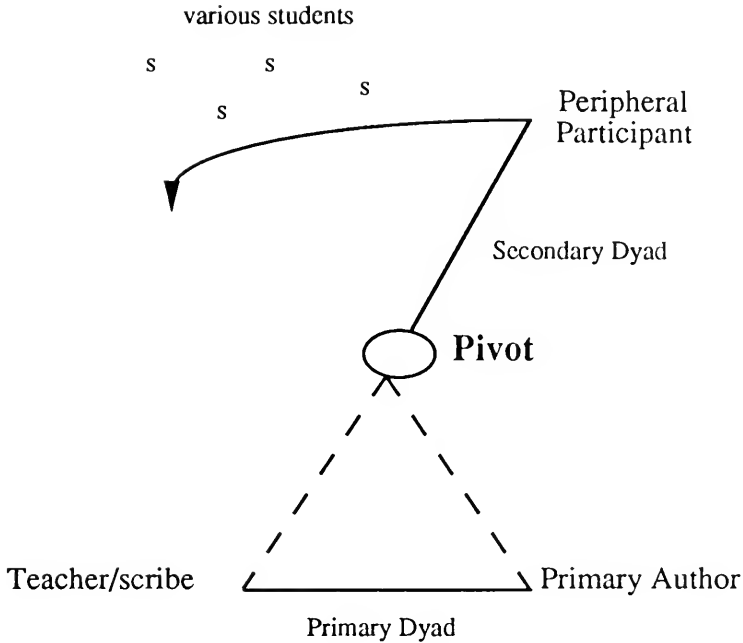


Figure 2. Pivot

The pivot expands the nature of the participation structure by expanding opportunities for participation and access to the social construction of literacy knowledge. The role of pivot, in particular, is used as a point of departure for interpretation of the text by overhearers as additional participation frameworks emerge in the activity. In this way, students draw on the talk about text offered by the pivot as a resource for their writing (Larson, 1995a).

In the following excerpt, Hannah has been closely following interaction in the primary dyad and has made numerous attempts to enter into the interaction by responding to questions the teacher has posed to Mary, the primary author. While Hannah remains in the larger activity frame of journal writing, she does not breach the dyadic frame at this point in the interaction. Subsequently, she turns to a student, John, seated across the table and begins a discussion of the letter "B" that she has carried over from listening in on interaction in the primary dyad.

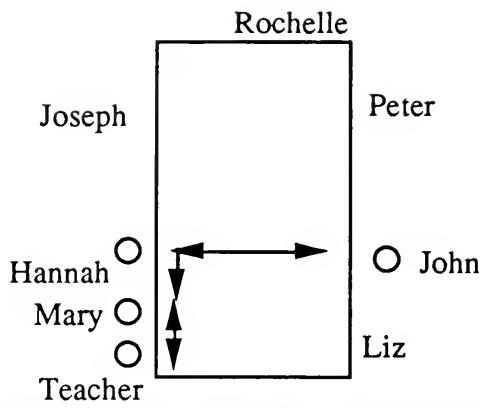


Figure 3. Pivot as Distributor of Literacy Knowledge

Excerpt 2:

- Teacher: And then bird (.) what letter does that begin with
 Mary: Be
 ((*looking at the place where the teacher wrote the letter*))
 Teacher: Be- B
 Hannah: B- [be-ber- ber- B
 ((*looks across the table to John*))
 John: [Bu (.) bu (.) balls]
 ((*stops writing and looks at Hannah*))
 Mary: [Wants to]
 ((*points to her paper as she continues her dictation*))
 Hannah: Ball start with B
 ((*looks back to the teacher and Mary*))

In this example, Hannah takes the letter "B" from the neighboring dyad (teacher/Mary) and offers it across the table to John, who takes up her utterance by repeating, then elaborating the letter sound. In this conversational move, Hannah establishes the role of pivot as she circulates the appropriated knowledge of the letter "B" to John (Larson, 1995a). This transformation of the participation framework is a critical shift in the interaction. Hannah does not, as in Goffman's (1981) definition of pivot, create a new topic or maintain a separate conversation with John. She functions in two overlapping frameworks but carries information from one predominantly dyadic interaction to another dyadic structure across the table.

A second role, the role of peripheral respondent, emerges from the field of peripheral participants and is created as a student engages in what Goffman (1981) refers to as crossplay, or communication (vocal and non-vocal) between the primary author, the teacher/scribe, and overhearers outside the boundaries of interaction in the primary dyad. The teacher has explicit and implicit rules for gaining the floor and by ignoring what she has determined are inappropriate attempts to gain her attention, she socializes the students to her preferred methods of entry. As peripheral respondents, the students respond to questions posed to the primary author by the teacher. As mentioned, the teacher may actively ignore or tolerate these responses or briefly shift to ratify a response vocally or non-vocally. Over time, the students have been socialized to acceptable behavior during writing and to the appropriate times and methods for gaining access to the teacher. This socialization process creates a normative structure that governs participation in this classroom.

In the following excerpt, the teacher has begun Peter's dictation. She is kneeling on the floor next to him as she writes, while Reid is writing in his journal directly across the table from them. The first sentence of Peter's story is "The daddy was riding on the freeway" and as the teacher finishes sounding out "the", she asks Peter if he can write "daddy." Reid, sitting across the table from them but looking down at his own paper, says the first letter "D" and is subsequently incorporated into the interaction.

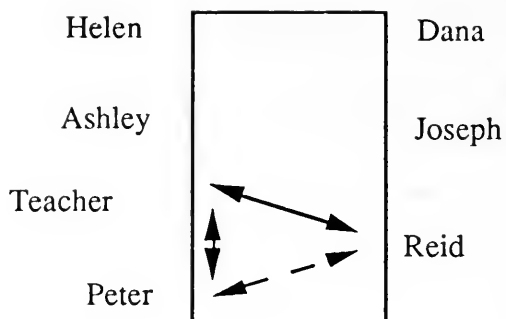


Figure 4. Shifting to Peripheral Respondent

Excerpt 3:

- Teacher: Okay T:::H:::
 ((writing the letters on sentence strip))
 can you write "daddy"
 ((looks at Peter))
 (2.0)
- Peter: Uh "daddy" no
 ((looks at teacher and shakes his head no))
- Teacher: all right
 do you know what it [starts with]
 ((looks at Peter))
- Reid: ["D"]
 (((sits up and looks across the table at teacher)))
- Teacher: That's right Reid
 ((looks up at Reid and smiles, then back to paper))
- Peter: ((looks at Reid))
- Reid: Because I-
 ((looking at teacher))
- Teacher: Reid's a good help
 he knows all those sounds
 ((looking down while writing))

As Reid offers the correct letter, "D", in response to the teacher's question to Peter, she looks up at Reid and states, "That's right Reid." Reid attempts to elaborate his response with a narrative about how he knows the letter, but is interrupted as the teacher continues, stating "Reid's a good help he knows all those sounds." She looks down at Peter's sentence strip while making this statement, thereby closing off a more expanded triad. Through his utterance in response to a question posed to Peter as primary author, Reid shifts roles and moves from the position of overhearer to the position of peripheral respondent.

As overhearer, then, a student can both deliberately and unintentionally listen in on interaction between the teacher/scribe and the primary author. Overhearers' attention to interaction in the primary dyad can be overtly displayed both vocally and non-vocally and non-displayed, or indirectly indexed, through eye gaze, gesture, and body position (Goodwin, 1981). Furthermore, an overhearer can be sought (Goffman, 1981) as the teacher indirectly, yet intentionally, speaks to all of the participants in the activity through an utterance directed to the primary author. In other words, in addressing the primary author, the teacher addresses the whole group (cf. Heritage, 1985). The normative nature of the participation framework creates, in effect, a shared indexical context (Hanks, 1990) within which participants' use of indirection becomes possible (Larson, 1996a).

Thus, the role of overhearer is characterized by peripheral access to primary interaction and is representative of less than full participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). From the position of overhearer, sub-sections of talk may be picked up and incorporated into the talk around their texts and may subsequently be incorporated into their stories. It is in this process of picking up knowledge

peripherally that distribution of literacy knowledge and topical diffusion, or the distribution of story topics, can occur (Larson, 1995a).

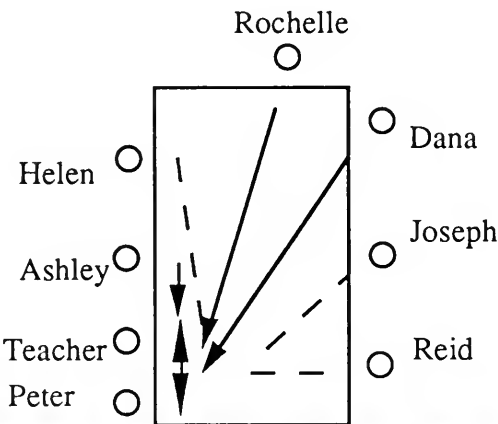


Figure 5. Gaining Access

Primary interlocutor status requires a situated use of the body and an orientation of attention to the tools of accomplishing the journal entry, i.e., the paper, the pencil or crayon, and the written and spoken words. As the above video frame illustrates (see figure 5), overhearers do not have direct access to this embodied process, but are in a position of peripheral access to interaction in the primary dyad in which the socially mediated process of learning to write originates. Consequently, text becomes a community construction that occurs through both direct and peripheral access to primary action. In other words, peripheral participants contribute to the primary author's text in multiple ways and, simultaneously, interaction in the primary dyad contributes to the stories of the peripheral participants. Learning to write, then, is accomplished through the varying and overlapping participation frameworks that emerge in talk and interaction during this writing activity.

Furthermore, the video frame illustrates both displayed and non-displayed attention to the primary dyad. Three students, Ashley, Rochelle and Dana, openly display their attention to the teacher and Peter (the primary dyad) through eye gaze and body position. Ashley has leaned over her writing to look into the primary dyad, while Dana and Rochelle have simply stopped writing and are looking at the interaction from across the table.

REDEFINING OVERHEARER AS CENTRAL PARTICIPANT

The centrality of participation of peripheral participants, and overhearer in particular, is best illustrated through the case of one student in the focus group, Ashley. Her growth as a writer over the course of the year is representative of how the transition from learning to write as copying to independent writing as storytelling was possible. Ashley began this year, as did most of the children in this classroom, with an emergent understanding of the purposes of written language. In other words, she had knowledge about the purposes of print, knowledge about letters and their associated sounds, had lap reading experience at home, and had begun to experiment with writing before entering school. She is one of a group of about ten students in this class who learned to compose and write their stories independent of the teacher by the end of the year. Her case is particularly relevant to the argument that the role of overhearer in writing activity is an active position from which students appropriate literacy knowledge. While Ashley remained almost exclusively in the role of overhearer during journal writing activity, never shifting to the role of peripheral respondent or pivot in the interaction, she developed independent writing competence.

One day in early April, Ashley wrote her first independently written journal entry as follows:

TH LVBK WNT TO TH MOM
The ladybug went to the mom

This written story indicates that Ashley has not only accomplished the teacher's articulated goal of this particular journal writing activity (i.e. orthographic competence) but also learned to make meaning through the process of creating narrative. Ashley's competence at writing was significantly influenced by her participation as an active overhearer in writing activity as she drew on the public construction of literacy knowledge. In other words, Ashley's written product reflects her individual use of the shared understanding that was jointly constructed in the public interactional space of journal writing activity. For example, on this particular day, the students working with Ashley at the journal table were talking about and composing stories connected to the theme of the month—insects. Some of the students' stories mimicked the book read in literature time that morning (*The Ladybug Went for a Walk*). Other students composed stories that were related to the story content of the book, but still needed the teacher's assistance as scribe when writing text. Ashley, however, not only composed an original story about an insect, but wrote the story herself, without the assistance of the teacher. This represented the first time she did not dictate her story to the teacher.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

I have argued in this paper that the point of reference for learning to write in classroom interaction moves beyond the notion of a speaker/recipient dyad to a more expansive model that acknowledges all the participants in an activity as central to the learning context. Learning to write is not accomplished solely by the individual but occurs both through direct and peripheral participation in joint activity as mediated by the participation framework. Ashley's case illustrates, in particular, how moment-to-moment interaction affects the larger context of literacy instruction by documenting how the teacher and students use the public interactional space as an instructional space within which peripheral participants actively co-participate in the learning process. In other words, students who are commonly considered to be working independently are, in fact, learning and assisting others in ways not previously identified. This study suggests, then, the necessary centrality of all the participants in the mediation of writing activity and the crucial role of peripheral participants in the learning process.

Thus, this study furthers research on classroom interaction by expanding the analytic frame to include participants outside of predominantly dyadic teacher/student interaction as the focus of analysis (Larson, 1995a). There is little research on interaction that occurs between the dyadic teacher/student frame and the simultaneous interactional frame of peripheral participants. This study suggests, then, that the crossplay (Goffman, 1981) between students outside of teacher/student dyads and interaction within the primary dyad contributes

significantly to the process of learning to write. Specifically, this study emphasizes the value of recognizing the consequences of interaction in the primary dyad upon peripheral participants' appropriation of literacy knowledge and, conversely, the consequences of the role of peripheral participants on the construction of literacy knowledge in the primary dyad.

Current dyad-based classroom language and literacy practices commonly position students not as active participants in the social construction of literacy but as passive consumers of a static body of literacy knowledge. Within these classrooms, literacy is defined as a reified set of "neutral" competencies autonomous of social context (Street, 1995). I am arguing for a reconceptualization of classroom language and literacy practices from current dyadic based participation frameworks to more expanded multi-party participation frameworks that allow for flexible access to the social construction of literacy knowledge. Furthermore, I argue that changing the ways in which students participate in school-based literacy practices to allow for more flexible participation frameworks will socialize students to more democratic participation in classrooms and in the larger society (Larson, 1996b). This reconceptualization of classroom language practices attempts to disrupt monolithic definitions of literacy by challenging the sanctity of dyadic (T/S) interaction in classrooms.

NOTES

¹ The following transcription conventions, adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984) are used in the examples given:

Colons denote sound stretch ("The:"); brackets indicate overlapping speech, for example:

J: [Bu (.) bu (.) balls]

M: [Wants to]

Equal signs indicate closely latched speech, or ideas, for example:

T: =e (.) okay=

H: The

T: =what letter does "little" start with do you think

Intervals of silence are timed in tenths of seconds and inserted within parentheses; short, untimed silences are marked by a dash when sound is quickly cut off ("Mrs Tho-") or with a period within parentheses (.) as seen in the above examples. Rising intonation within an utterance is marked with an arrow ("ho↑use"); falling intonation at the end of an utterance is indicated with a period ("okay."). Descriptions of speech or gesture are italicized within double parentheses ("(*points to bird on paper*)"); single parentheses surround items of doubtful transcription; small circles indicate utterances spoken quietly ("I'll be with you in a minute"); and **boldface** indicates items of analytic focus.

² Portions of the section on pivot appear in Larson (1995a).

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"Friends aren't friends, homes": A Working Vocabulary for Referring to Rolldogs and *Chuchos*

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In this article I analyze various apparently synonymous words for 'friend' (e.g. 'homes,' 'bro,' 'homeboy,' 'ése,' and 'rolldog') as they are used by one former gang-member, Mario, to persuade two current gang-members to stop "gangbanging." While giving advice to the two current gangsters, Mario uses a variety of words in order to refer to "so-called friends" and to index the fact that he is, though no longer a gangster, part of the same community as his addressees. This analysis also shows how the meanings of these disparate reference terms are made and re-made through talk as conversationalists use these words to put forward their contrasting points of view.

INTRODUCTION

"Friends aren't friends," is the lesson an ex-gangster, Mario, has learned from the loss of his best friend due to gang violence. For Mario, a teenager who grew up in Los Angeles, there are many ways in which 'friends aren't friends' anymore. Most immediately, his former best friend literally isn't a friend any more because he has passed away; a victim of gunfire. Following the loss of this friend, Mario left their shared world of the *barrio* and the friendships of gangland for a new kind of life. Today Mario lives in the San Fernando Valley with his girlfriend, attends Valley Vocational School, and works four nights a week at an ice-cream shop in Westwood. He keeps his distance from the Echo Park *barrio* where he lost his friend.

Nevertheless, Mario has forgotten neither the pain of his loss nor the hardships of life as a gangster and, although he also admits it is hard sometimes to refuse the invitations of some of his old friends to come back to the *barrio*, Mario frequently laments the mistakes he believes he has made in the past. This paper is about one conversation Mario had with some current gangsters. Their exchange took place during a lull in a class they were attending at 'City School,' a now defunct charter school where former high-school dropouts were given another chance to finish their high-school education.¹ In this conversation, Mario is trying to convince two young men not to make the same "mistakes"

that he did and to leave their life as gangsters before their lives are literally taken away from them.

Mario's persuasive task is not easy: While Mario has become convinced that the negative consequences of gang life and gangster friendship are too great, his addressees, Jorge and Luis, are best friends, both deeply involved in their gang. What Mario sees as the terrible consequences of gang life, these boys see as part of their definition of friendship. While for Mario, "friends aren't friends," for Jorge and Luis, friends are everything, and the potentially dire consequences of being friends in a gang are actually what makes a friendship worthwhile. But while Mario holds views in direct opposition to the views of his addressees, Jorge and Luis, and although he is barely acquainted with them, all three share a set of similar experiences. As three Latinos familiar with gang life, Mario, Jorge, and Luis share a great deal of language particular to this group, and Mario liberally uses this shared linguistic repertoire in his attempt to present his addressees with a new version of their world. Nevertheless, all three boys are using the same words to refer to very different realities. Through conversation, this shared repertoire becomes a 'working vocabulary,' used to talk about conflicting views of friendship.

Mario, Jorge and Luis define and re-define friendship by selecting from a shared set of words which at first seem to be nearly synonymous. In addition to the word 'friend,' these three young men, and Mario in particular, use the words 'homes,' '*ése*,' 'homeboy,' 'family,' '*familia*,' '*vato*,' 'roll dog,' 'dog,' and '*chucho*' throughout their discussion. Obviously, all of these words don't have the same meaning; there is a reason for such diversity of expression. After a discussion of theories of reference as they have been developed in philosophy and anthropology, this paper will explore the changing meanings of particular reference terms as they are used within this conversation.

REFERENCE

This paper builds on the notion that reference is fundamental to human interaction, and that interaction in turn contributes to the meaning of reference terms. However, philosophers of language initially discussed reference as it occurs apart from any context. Their goal was an analytic one, to create a mathematics of language which could scientifically describe and account for the world. To this end, Bertrand Russell (1985[1950]) posited a one-to-one relationship between referents and words used to refer, but other philosophers of language noticed that while there is indeed meaning at the word level, it is not necessarily arbitrary or intrinsic to the referring expression. Frege (1892) argued that concepts are derived from wholes not parts, and for Frege, the whole consisted of the sentence which created the possibility for intersubjective meaning through "sense compositionality" or grammar. Going beyond the

sentence, Kripke (1977), Searle (1970), Strawson (1955), Putnam (1989), Wittgenstein (1953 [1945, 1946-1949]) and others have pointed out that a referring expression relies on social knowledge in order to do its referring work. Even at the word level, apart from "sense compositionality", meanings are socially grounded. As Kripke tentatively suggested, habitual use of a word may result in the accrual of semantic qualities. The accrual of layers of semanticity on a single word is expanded by Silverstein's notion of "orders of indexicality," which contribute to linguistic ideologies behind the usage of certain words (1992). As Donnellan (1966) suggested, linguistic expressions not only refer, they also attribute certain qualities to an object. These 'attributions' may be understood in Silverstein's terms as the indexical layers associated with particular word uses.

As the development of a theory of reference suggests, even a purely analytic agenda must account for the (socially and linguistically) contextualized nature of any act of reference. Building in part on Heidegger's conceptualization of "being-in-the-world" and "everydayness" (1962[1927]), many of today's social scientists consider scientific or philosophical 'discoveries' to be inseparable from human interaction (Cahoone, 1996). Naturally, this attention to interaction also influences our account of reference or, more currently, "referential practice" (Hanks, 1990). Even a speaker's choice of a particular language to use for one's referring layers social and potentially political meanings onto the referent. These layers accrue not only to the referent, but to the addressee and interlocutor as well. As Gloria Anzaldúa has said with great emotion in her discussion of varieties of Spanish and English, "if you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language" (1990, p.207). The corollary may also be true: That is, to express affinity with an addressee, use their language—or what you think their language might be (Anzaldúa also describes the embarrassment which follows her attempts to speak Spanish to her monolingual Latina colleagues here in California).

What Anzaldúa has expressed about the ideological nature of language choice, Schegloff, Sacks, and Jefferson have described within conversation as "recipient design" (Schegloff, 1972; Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1974; Sacks et al. 1974) or "the multiplicity of ways in which participants take into account the particulars of who they are talking to, and the events they are engaged in, in the organization of their action" (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992, p. 192). Depending on who we are addressing, we will select not only language, but also particular words and ways of speaking accordingly (cf. Schegloff, 1972). In discourse, as will be shown in this analysis, these choices made with regard to the addressees, give rise to entirely new referring expressions, seeming 'synonyms,' which nevertheless play distinct and contingent roles within the talk.

REFERENCE IN DISCOURSE

When the literature on the philosophy of language is supplemented with the insights of anthropological research, conversation analysis, or literary theory it becomes clear that to talk about reference apart from discourse and interaction is to miss key determining factors in reference: Sociolinguistic criteria, sense-compositionality, and the inherently sequential nature of talk intersect in conversation and referring becomes a shared activity which evolves in moment-to-moment interaction between speakers. Individuals' social experiences, their political agendas and some form of "recipient design" all potentially contribute to the selection of appropriate reference terms. Furthermore, as Strawson (1955) said in his critique of Russell, words refer differently in different contexts. The word '*ése*' for example, may refer to one's friend in one social and grammatical context, but in another context it may be an insult.²

As we will see, the referential uses of the words 'friend,' 'homeboy,' '*chucho*,' 'roll-dog,' and 'family' are constructed interactionally in Mario's confrontational talk with Jorge and Luis. Vocative uses of words like '*ése*,' 'homes,' and 'bro' also affect the activity of reference. As these three young men argue about the meaning of friendship, the referential value which accrues to particular words in discourse works to construct two different versions of reality. In this conversation, identical words can have very different meanings depending on who is uttering them and at what point in the conversation. As Mario struggles to use a shared language to promote change, he relies both on the indexical associations his words carry, and his own ability to use those words for new purposes. Yet as Jorge and Luis contest his arguments, they insist that his words hold different referential values for them.

In this conversation, Mario puts forth a very different view of friendship than that held by his addressees, Jorge and Luis. Jorge and Luis see sacrifice as a defining element of friendship, and show their willingness to sacrifice for their friends by being active gang-members, 'backing each other up,' (fighting against rival gangs in the name of the home gang) and 'getting locked up' for each other (going to jail for their friends' crimes). Mario, however, claims to have been through this kind of friendship and experienced its tragic finale: His friend was shot and killed by rival gang-members. As a consequence of their experiences, Jorge and Luis see their sacrifices as a valuable part of friendship, while Mario sees the sacrifices made towards a friend in a gang as an act of self-deception which inevitably ends in tragedy. Thus, in his discussion with Jorge and Luis, Mario tries to redefine what a true friend is—while Jorge and Luis insist on their own understanding of friendship. This series of re-definitions hinges on claims and denials about the referential value of the 'synonyms' for 'friend.'

Towards the beginning of the conversation, Mario states the paradox which guides the discussion and the conflicting attempts to define what a true friend really is:³

1) Mario: Friends aren't friends, homes.

The present indicative verb here ("aren't") and the absence of articles on the pluralized nouns ("friends") are common characteristics of universalizing statements in English (e.g., "Germans are good musicians" (Celce-Murcia, 1983, pp. 180-1)). Thus, in this brief assertion, Mario makes a sad and universal point: What you think are friends are not friends. Here, while no concrete referent is made explicit, as the conversation continues, it will become painfully clear that Mario is referring not only to 'friends' of an abstract and universal sort, but also to the two friends sitting in front of him, as well as his own friend who has passed away. Already, Mario indirectly communicates the concreteness of his seemingly abstract reference by adding the word 'homes' which suggests that both his addressees are, indeed, *his* friends. While his first three words warn of the dangers of trusting 'friends,' his final vocative 'homes,' indexes that his current addressees are his friends, fellow gangsters and Latinos (Rymes, 1996). Including the vocative 'homes' a full paraphrase of 1) then might more aptly read as follows: 'What you, my gangster friends, think of as friends, aren't really friends.' Indeed, as Mario's point develops, he suggests that a *gangster* friend is the precise type of friend that cannot be a friend in the long run.

Thus, through a paradoxical association with universal truths about friends-in-general and the Latino, gangster friends of the here-and-now, Mario opens the discussion to a debate about what true friends really are. Indeed, the referentially self-contradictory character of the sentence, "friends aren't friends, homes," is typical of paradoxes and parables in many languages.⁴ In this situation, it provokes a rich debate about the nature of friends, and, through such debate, continual reconfiguration of the referential terms themselves. In their discussion, Mario, Jorge, and Luis cycle through a series of words for friend: As soon as Mario explicates the dire consequences of having one kind of 'friend,' Jorge and Luis, sensing the application of Mario's moral to their own friendship, re-define the term, implying that Mario's definition is at fault. Frequently their new definition involves a new, more specific word for friend. As shown below, as soon as Mario claims that "friends aren't friends" Jorge counters that the reason Mario has this belief is because Mario has never been a true friend himself:

2) You don't look at 'em as friends

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Mario: | Friends aren't friends, homes. I'll tell you that. |
| Jorge: | Yeah. 'Cause you don't look at 'em as friends, that's why.
You probably backstab 'em and shit that's why they ain't your friends anymore. |

In his response to Mario's utterance, Jorge introduces some additional text which transforms Mario's universalizing utterance about friends in general, into one which is merely about Mario and the kinds of friends he has. Thus, through Jorge's completion of Mario's statement, the entire collaboratively constructed

sentence becomes "Friends aren't friends homes because you don't look at them as friends."⁵ This reformulation of Mario's generalization motivates Jorge's subsequent highly parallelistic metapragmatic gloss: Jorge explains that Mario's statement simply refers to him and his friends. It is not universally true at all: For other people, friends very well may be friends, but Mario probably backstabs his friends, and "that's why they ain't your friends anymore."

Jorge claims that Mario doesn't know what a true friend is because he never was truly loyal to *his* friends. However, Mario immediately counters with his own re-definition and a new term for 'friend,' namely 'family,' a word which may suggest an even greater loyalty than 'friend.'

3) Family and friends

Mario: It ain't like that- I ain't considered them as my friends. I considering them as my family.

But 'family' and 'friends' for Mario are equally suspect. Relationships with so-called 'family' and 'friends' can lead to consequences which Mario sees as bad. And, he insists, Jorge and Luis' friendship in particular, can lead to the same miserable consequences:

4) Your family, your friends

Mario: Where did your [family get you homes.
 [((points his hand at Jorge and looks at Luis))]
 Your [friends, ése?
 [((points at Jorge again and looks at Luis))]
 He got you locked up, homes.
 Luis: That's 'cause I wanted to get locked up homes.

Here, gesture combines with words to "make maximal use of symbolic resources" (Streeck, 1993). Mario makes use of descriptive pointing and pragmatic gaze as well as sociolectal and semantic knowledge to simultaneously make his point about friends and index his affinity to Jorge and Luis. As the videotape of this conversation shows (see Illustration 1), the referential value of 'family' and 'friends' is clearly no longer in the realm of abstraction. In this exchange, Mario uses both referential terms and vocatives to make his point absolutely clear: While saying 'family' and 'friends,' Mario points to Jorge; By using the word 'you,' he simultaneously picks out Luis as his addressee, and refers to him as part of a particular speech community by using the vocatives 'homes' and 'ése'. By appealing to a common vocabulary, Mario communicates his affinity with Jorge and Luis, while at the same time using this impression of understanding to make his referent absolutely clear: The kinds of friends that "aren't friends" are seated right before him and they are friendships which are based on gang affiliation. In this brief exchange, referent and addressee are stacked with words particular to the sociolect shared by these three young men (Rymes, 1996). By pointing at his referent, Mario shifts the grounds of the argument away from himself and specifically back to Jorge and Luis;

nevertheless, while his pointing makes his argument more specific, by using vocatives to appeal more generically to their common ground, Mario makes it hard for Jorge and Luis to claim he just doesn't understand their world. Paradoxically, however, Mario is simultaneously critiquing this world whose language he is mining.



Illustration 1: "Where did your family get you homes?"

As indicated in interviews, Mario believes in the speech community specificity of words like 'homes' and 'ése,' and the affinity or 'friendship' implicit in those words. But in this case, he uses those associations for a different expressive end: To criticize the quality of the gang-related friendship these particular words presuppose. Through co-textual relationships, Mario creatively applies the indexical value of 'family,' 'friend,' 'ése,' and 'homes.' Specifically, by using parallel structure he equates the relationship Luis has with Jorge with the cause of his prison sentence. As shown below (Fig. 1), the anaphoric 'he' and the consequence "got you locked up" is slipped into parallel position with

family and friend, skillfully woven between the vocatives 'homes,' 'ése,' and 'homes:'

4*) Mario: Where did

your family
your friends
He

get you

got you locked up

homes.
ése?
homes.

Figure 1: Referential Implication by Parallelism

In combination with here-and-now reference to Jorge, Luis's best friend, sitting in front of him, this parallelism has a dramatic effect. Pointing to the best friends while making points about their downside is a bold move on Mario's part. And yet, as Luis's response indicates ("that's because I wanted to get locked up"), for him, the fact that he went to jail for Jorge simply confirms their friendship. For Jorge and Luis, taking the consequences for another gangster (in this case going to jail for them) is the definition of friendship. Thus, they counter Mario's criticism of their friendship with a re-definition of what it means to be a friend, and the re-introduction of the word 'homeboy.' Now, while they see that they have no words specific enough to elude Mario's understanding, they try to claim "extensional warrant" for the meaning of familiar, shared words (cf. Silverstein, 1987):

5) A true homeboy

- Mario: You'd get locked up for a friend homes? That's something stupid
 Luis: Fuck that, I don't get locked up for all my homeboys.
 Mario: Well do your time while their ass is out here,
 Luis: (shit)
 Mario: you know getting smoked on and everything and what do you- what do you find out next time homes?
 Luis: I don't care.
 Jorge: You ain't a true homeboy then. You ain't a true homeboy. You ain't a true homeboy.

When Mario argues that sitting in jail while your friend is out on the streets "getting his ass smoked on" isn't a worthwhile way to demonstrate friendship, Jorge claims, "you ain't a true homeboy then." For Jorge and Luis, a true homeboy is someone who goes to jail for you. For Mario, this is precisely what a true homeboy isn't. This is precisely why "friends aren't friends."

Indeed, Mario refuses to except Jorge's definition and continues to insist that "getting locked up" for someone is a misguided way to prove one's friendship. If this is the criteria, according to Mario, 'family' and 'homeboys' aren't real friends either:

6) Homeboy, family, it ain't

Mario: That ain't family, getting f- getting locked up for a *vato*.
 Luis: That's what we're trying to tell you though. The- that's my homeboy.
 Mario: Homeboy, family, whatever homes.
 It ain't.
 Well I'll tell you that much man.

In this segment, Mario further emphasizes his point (that friends aren't friends) by using the word *vato*. As he has discussed with me on a different occasion, for Mario, *vato* doesn't have the capacity to pick out friends. A *vato* is, in Mario's words "the same as a man" which is "just the definition of a person." This is not the kind of relationship deserving of great sacrifice. Yet while Luis's response shows he clearly understands how Mario is using the word *vato*, he insists Mario is wrong by again re-defining his relationship with Jorge and insisting that Mario doesn't understand the definition of homeboy. Luis didn't spend a year in jail for just a *vato*. He did it for a homeboy. Mario however, flatly rejects this claim. If you are getting locked up for this person, it is not a homeboy. Nor is it family.

Yet, implicit in all of Mario's criticisms of gang-based friendships, is the existence of an alternative, more pure type of friendship. When he takes the role of being someone in a community which says 'homes,' and '*ése*,' friends aren't friends, because one's gangster family of homeboys will never really be friends *outside* of this community. They are only good for upholding this particular type of family and friendship, and it is this type of friends that, for Mario, "aren't friends" anymore. By implicitly maintaining this distinction, Mario salvages his own future and the potential for a better kind of friendship. One can't forget that Mario's statements which seem to degrade the value of friendship in fact are the result of the pain he felt from his own very important friendship. How can one denounce friendship while at the same time maintaining that one speaks from the experience of having a very important friend? Mario resolves this problem by separating the two kinds of friendships into two kinds of worlds: 'gang-related' friends, and non-gang related, true friends. When true friends merge with the world of gang-related occurrences, trouble occurs. While Jorge and Luis still reside in the former world with its definitions for friend, Mario now resides in the latter.

And yet, Mario wants to confront Jorge and Luis with the potential of losing a true friend to the non-true friendship world of gang violence: Mario introduces the important friendship he has had only after Jorge introduces an entirely new, and not necessarily gang-related word for a friend, 'roll dog':

7) Rolldogin' it

Jorge: We're roll dogin' it.
 Mario: Who you [think I wasn't a roll dog for my homeboy *ése*? Huh?
 Jorge: [We've come through everything man.]
 Jorge: Well we're still tight.
 Luis: Yeah.

In this exchange, Mario's own best friend, his "homeboy," is introduced as a referent—and a particular, special kind of homeboy, a "roll dog."

By mentioning his own roll dog, Mario's own adequacy as a friend is once again open for dispute, and Jorge jumps at the opportunity to put Mario's friendship to the test when he asks "what happened to your homeboy?":

8) My best roll dog, my chucho

- Jorge: What happened to your homeboy.
 Mario: He got shot homes.
 (): ss.
 Mario: My best roll-dog, homes, my chucho homes,
 he got shot, ése. Fourteen bullets homes.

Here, Mario is talking about the consequences of his *own* friendship, not the friendship of Jorge and Luis. Mario's discursive layering of indexically loaded reference terms and vocatives is quite analogous to his previous statements about getting "locked up" for friends and family. As shown below (fig. 2), the parallelism of these two statement follows a nearly identical pattern.

4') Mario: Where did

your family
 your friends
 He

get you
 got you locked up

homes
 ése?
 homes

8') Mario:

My best roll dog
 my chucho
 he

got shot

homes
 homes
 ése

Figure 2: Referential Implication by Parallelism, Part Two

The parallelism within and between these two utterances mirrors Mario's point, which could be paraphrased as: having friends can turn into a painful experience. This is true for you and your so-called family, and it is true for me too. Even roll dogs, the best sort of friend aren't always going to be there. 8' comes across even more forcefully than 4', however, for several reasons: Mario is referring to his own friend, not to Jorge and Luis. Furthermore, in 8', consequences (implied through parallelism) of being someone's friend are more severe. Finally, these consequences do not befall a mere 'friend' or 'homeboy,' but a 'roll dog' and a 'chucho,' two words whose referential value as relationship markers has not yet been contested within this conversation. Thus Mario makes his point clearly and forcefully: Even friendships of the best kind can lead to tragic ends *when they are drawn into gang life*. Even if your friend is a true

roll dog, when "roll dogin' it" becomes a gangland activity, "Friends aren't friends."

Finally, neither Jorge nor Luis counter Mario's assertion by claiming that this bad end is also a part of being a friend. The specter of death is not taken lightly. While they do say that going to jail is a sacrifice they are willing to make, a sacrifice they consider to be an important part of showing friendship, they will not say the same thing about dying for a friend. Friends are too important, especially roll dogs. Now Jorge and Luis begin to see into Mario's world: They are in agreement with Mario on the value of the 'roll-dog' relationship. They do not reject Mario's underlying assumption (that being shot is a negative consequence) as they did when the consequences were merely jail. After Mario reveals that his best friend was shot, Jorge and Luis do not say that he should be happy to have a friend die; To counter the serious claim Mario makes about the death of his friend (and his implication that the same fate could befall his addressees), Jorge and Luis suggest that Mario's friend was not really a roll-dog at all, but rather that he was "just" a homeboy:

9) Best dog vs. homeboy and familia.

- Jorge: So that means that you just had a homeboy.
 Mario: Where's he at now? That was my roll-dog ése. I had a *familia*, my homeboys were my *familia*, but that was my roll-dog. He got shot fourteen times homes. He was what, fifteen years old ése. Where's he at now.
 (): Sh
 Mario: Underground, homes.
 ():
 Mario: You want your- you want your best dog underground homes?

Now the more gang-related word for friend is prefaced by a limiting "just" ("So that means that you just had a homeboy"). Here Jorge, like Mario did in excerpts 7) and 8), conveys his sense that a roll dog is something special: a friend even apart from the dynamics of gang life. But while Jorge may agree with Mario on the definition of roll dog, he denies that Mario ever had one. Real roll-dogs, he seems to be implying, don't get shot. If indeed Mario's "best dog" was killed by gang-related bullets, he was, actually, "just a homeboy."

While Jorge is still not willing to equate his own friend, Luis, with any friend that Mario had, Mario doesn't give up. He forces Jorge to equate his own roll dog, Luis, with the roll dog that Mario lost. In the excerpt above, Mario asserts what has been implied in the former discourse and which he has told me in subsequent discussions: that he had a roll dog once and that to him, 'roll dog' is the best possible term you could use for a friend. In this conversation, the terms 'family' and 'homeboy' had lost their agreed-upon status as terms which refer to valued relationships. Furthermore, they are words which stereotypically index gang-affiliation, which has in this conversation, come to index death. Roll dog, however has not been so emptied of positive associations. Both sides of this argument have used the term roll dog as a word for a very close friend, even in the world of non-gang related activities. As Mario has told me, a roll

dog is the person you are always there for, the person you are "tight" with, the person with whom you've "come through everything." By repeatedly asking Jorge "where's [his roll dog] at now?" Mario tries to use the sequential force of a question to engage Jorge fully, or at least to make him acknowledge, verbally, that Mario did in fact lose a true friend, a roll dog. However, Jorge's response is minimal even in this sequential context. Nevertheless, Mario continues to question Jorge, and makes his next question explicitly applicable to his two addressees by making the parallel between his own lost roll dog and Jorge's best friend, Luis. He asks, "do you want your best dog underground?"

Now Jorge and Luis have no choice but to consider the death of their friend(ship). There seem to be no new words, no new matters of definition or ambiguities of reference to come to their rescue.

Seemingly at a loss, Jorge stammers:

- 10) Jorge: Well don- don- don-
 come out with
 some stupid question like that man.

The truth is, while it may be honorable to say you would die for your homie, it is not so honorable to say you don't mind if your homie dies for you. Jorge doesn't want his roll dog underground, but he doesn't have any other answer right now. For Jorge, his roll dog, Luis, is his one loyalty and this loyalty is expressed through their gang affiliation; for both Jorge and Luis, upholding this loyalty is a powerful ethical imperative and confrontation by a reformed gangbanger like Mario is not a comfortable experience. But without at least a minimal understanding of their world and the words to convey such understanding, Mario could never have confronted these two young men in this way. As Mario remarked to me a few weeks later, he "used to be just like them—so stubborn." But while Mario can reach them enough to make them uncomfortable, Mario hasn't changed their minds. Nor has he found an easy solution. There isn't one. But by using a shared vocabulary, by trying to convey his own sense of experience of the gang life, and the life of a Latino, Mario just wants Jorge and Luis to know that after all, "we all see the same shit" and that hard choices are inevitable:

11) We all see the same shit

- Jorge: I mean we grew up together since we were real small, that's what. >You know<
Mario: Yeah, and that's cool, homes, but what I'm trying to tell you homes is that- just expect it bro. Expect it homes. I'm telling you- my my look- here, homes, I don't know, it's just a lot of shit that- >you know< that I've seen bro. But I- yo- I mean- we all see the same shit man. And still you guys don't see, man, that, it ain't worth it bro. None of this shit's worth it homes.

Again, Mario weaves immediate and community specific vocatives throughout his more global claims about the world. However, the gang-related 'homes' and the more universally applicable 'bro' are equally invoked. While Mario wants Jorge and Luis to leave the gang world and enter the world of 'roll dogs' and

'bros,' and friendships defined by bonds other than those of the gang, he still reaches out to them with the familiar and gang-related term, 'homes.' He understands what we all should: when we're all seeing the same hardship, it's no wonder that friendship as defined through gang loyalty becomes a last holdout against that "shit." But until Jorge and Luis see a brighter alternative, there really is nothing else more "worth it."

CONCLUSION

The content of the conversation between Mario, Luis, and Jorge first struck me as tragic and incredibly personal. This is not the typical type of conversation one hears during a lull in classroom instruction. These conversationalists elaborate particularities and collaboratively negotiate word meanings and values, and in the process, the meaning of friendship and the ethical values associated with it.

Like Mario, I find it hard to understand how Jorge and Luis can be "so stubborn" about their gang loyalties. Repeatedly during my research at this alternative school, the topics of jail and death test the limits of my cultural relativism. Something seems wrong with our society when teenage boys willingly go to jail and even die for one another. And yet as I look closely at the language used in the conversations I've taped at this school, I marvel at its unending capacity to support and sustain varied perspectives and identities, even amidst all "the same shit" Mario alludes to. As Mario questions the value of Jorge and Luis's lives and their friendship, reference words proliferate, being re-made and un-made as Jorge and Luis's world begins to tumble before them in conversation. Can words save them? Or Mario? New words like 'chucho' and 'roll dog'? Certainly not. But in this conversation, these multi-functional, highly indexical words provide a medium for further talk, for confrontation, and for fighting out those issues many other adolescents may never confront with such life and death force. And they provided me with a window into points of view I still wonder about daily.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe many thanks to Asif Agha and Stanton Wortham for their suggestions on the earliest versions of this paper, and to Andy Roth and Jennifer Schlegel who provided invaluable comments on a more recent draft. Despite all this input from others, however, some elements of this paper have stubbornly remained the same, and I take full responsibility for any problems which still exist.

NOTES

¹ This article is part of a larger study on language and identity within an urban alternative school, and is supported under a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship.

² Mario has described to me how his Latino peers use "ése" as a friendly vocative (or address term) among themselves, whereas African Americans he knows may use the noun phrase "an ése" to refer to (and distance themselves from) a Latino gang member.

³ The following transcription conventions are used in the examples given: Colons denote sound stretch ("Bro: is- just like"); Underlining denotes emphatic stress ("the word like say friend"); Brackets indicate overlapping speech, for example:

Mario: [you know?

Betsy: [right,

Equal signs indicate continuation of an utterance across another speaker's contribution, for example,

Mario: the definition of a=

Betsy: Uh huh,

Mario: =person you know?

Intervals of silence are timed in tenths of seconds and inserted within parentheses; short, untimed silences are marked by a dash when sound is quickly cut off ("they're like- a Latino") or with a period within parentheses (.). Utterance final rising intonation is marked with a question mark, continued intonation with a comma, and falling intonation with a period; faster paced talk is enclosed in less-than and greater-than signs (">you know<"); Descriptions of the scene are italicized within double parentheses (((*points his hand at Jorge and looks at Luis*))); Single parentheses surround items of doubtful transcription; and boldface indicates items of analytic focus.

⁴ Asif Agha, personal communication.

⁵ Cecilia Ford (1993) has named this phenomenon (and others like it) "post-completion extension," meaning that after an utterance is potentially complete, it is continued (by the same or a second speaker) with an added adverbial clause, in this case, a "because-clause."

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Constructing Panic: The Discourse of Agoraphobia by
Lisa Capps and Elinor Ochs. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
Press, 1995. 244 pp.

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The collaborative efforts of psychologist Lisa Capps and linguist Elinor Ochs have yielded an innovative and insightful examination of how the psychiatric disorder of agoraphobia (defined as a fear of open spaces) is narratively constructed by a sufferer ("Meg Logan") of the disorder. Placing primacy on Meg's understanding of agoraphobia, Capps and Ochs develop a compelling case for plumbing the depths (or, to use their metaphor, dismantling the architecture) of an individual's story in order to access both the dominant narrative *and* the subjugated narrative—the narrative that may be hidden to the sufferer but that may lie at the core of the disorder. Their stated goal is not to identify the cause of agoraphobia, but to "illuminate the sufferer's own understandings of the environmental conditions and interpersonal dynamics that trigger panic, demonstrating the depth of insight that can be gleaned by looking at the grammatical and discursive architecture of stories" (p. 82).

In chapter one, Capps and Ochs briefly review the psychological literature about agoraphobia and lay out their research methods. Finding that structured interviews and questionnaires were inadequate in describing Meg's lived experience of agoraphobia, Capps spent two and one half years making visits to the Logan's home, talking at length with Meg and with her family and videotaping dinners and other interactive occasions.

As discussed in chapter two, the authors view language as a (if not the most) powerful shaper of existence, referring throughout the book to Toni Morrison's statement from her 1994 Nobel lecture that, "Narrative is radical, creating us at the very moment it is being created." Storytelling acts as a medium of existence, thus stories contain theories about reality. The authors contend that through analysis of narrative plot structure, it is possible to capture those theories and to come closer to an individual's self-representation. Ultimately, this deeper understanding of self-construction could lead to therapeutic re-construction of one's life story.

In Meg's case, two theories of panic were identified, and linguistic explication of these theories comprises the majority of the book (chapters three through seven). Meg's (conscious) theory about her disorder is that she panics as an irrational/abnormal response to certain places. The authors' theory—and they

would say Meg's *narrative's* theory—about her agoraphobia is that she faces a communicative dilemma, an inability to express negative reactions to proposals made to her by others. Selected narratives (or "panic stories" such as the water story, the thirtieth birthday story, the Big Mama story) are presented and re-presented in order to illustrate a variety of linguistic features shaping these theories. Chapter three addresses how Meg "tells" panic, for example how she positions her theory about place in the climax of each panic story, thus giving the panic an overwhelming, spiraling life of its own. In chapter four, the authors look at Meg's grammatical construction of panic; it is in this chapter that Capps and Ochs develop their unique notion of a "grammar of emotion." They examine such grammatical features as adverbial phrases (e.g., "out of the blue"), mental and modal verbs, and place adverbs, categorizing them into Meg's "grammar of abnormality" and "grammar of helplessness." These grammars serve to create coherence in Meg's overall panic experience.

While the previous chapters deal more with Meg's explicit construction of panic, chapter five delves into the subjugated or hidden narrative, and thus addresses the clinical value of conducting detailed discourse analysis. Schematization of Meg's narratives uncover her tendency to accommodate rather than express reservations about or reject others' proposals for activities involving her. The value in discourse analysis is exemplified by the authors' finding that Meg always uses the imperative "let's" to describe how people proposed various activities to her. Ochs's and Capps's interpretation of this is as follows:

The use of "let's" seems a friendly and communal way of engaging another in an upcoming activity...Yet the "let's" imperative is an imperative. The speaker is not asking the addressee if she is able to or desires to participate in the proposed activity...It is almost as if to reject the proposal entails rejecting membership in this group...The proposals put forward to Meg may not have had this grammatical shape: what is significant is that in Meg's ruminations about past panic experiences, she formulates these proposals consistently in this manner (pp. 86-7).

Meg's inability to reject, and hence her accommodation of, proposals leads her to panic, which then leads her to *nonaccommodation*, avoidance of negotiation, temporary resolution of communicative difficulties, and thus reiteration of agoraphobia. So, paradoxically (as described in chapter seven, "Paradoxes of Panic"), Meg's agoraphobia both restricts her and relieves her, and this is apparent in her discourse and grammar.

Though Meg locates her panic problems solely with herself, she alone does not construct her agoraphobic identity, as the authors point out in chapter eight. They compare the family unit to an orchestra, each member (husband, son, daughter) playing a vital role in the creation and maintenance of the music/narrative: Meg as an "irrational woman." In addition to analyzing Meg's narratives, an important component of the authors' endeavor is to examine the socialization of emotion in the family context. Capps's access to day-to-day family interaction provides a unique window onto the linguistic transmission of emotion, particularly anxiety. Through a variety of examples, the authors

illustrate that Meg and her husband do engage in socializing anxiety and an overall lack of control and agency, particularly in their daughter.

The authors propose in the concluding chapter that with linguistic training, therapists could be more sensitive to clients' constructions of their experiences. As Capps and Ochs point out, constructivist psychotherapists have recently been interested in narratives, but they have not tended to look carefully at narrative construction: "How exactly do narrators build settings and events and psychological demeanors? What linguistic resources do they habitually draw on to build narrative portraits and emotional landscapes? How do these narrative practices evolve over the course of a single therapeutic encounter? Over a series of encounters?" (pp. 178-9). Through close examination (and the authors might say *necessarily* through close examination) and critical analysis of linguistic tools, co-authored (therapist and client) transformation of narratives could take place. The authors provide discursive and grammatical pointers, reviewing a number of tools referred to in the analytical chapters.

Constructing Panic is a straightforward, smoothly written book. I am, however, left with some concerns and questions. The overarching emphasis on Meg's narrative left some contextual gaps about Meg's life. Meg *became* her narrative in this book. In order to have more context for the narratives I would have liked to know more background about her (e.g., Meg's history, her family background, the nature of her parents' relationship, the history of her marriage). I also hoped for more information about Meg's experiences with therapy and with her current therapist. The authors discuss the notion that narratives are co-constructed by those interacting with the sufferer, including the therapist. What about Meg's therapist? The authors do not elaborate on this therapeutic relationship, or its effects on Meg's narratives.

The clinical feasibility—but not relevance—of in-depth discourse analysis is questionable. It would, of course, be tremendously helpful if therapists were linguistically trained. How much training would the authors' level of analysis require? What would this type of analysis mean for the clinical setting? Sessions would have to be taped and, ideally, transcribed, compared to one another, compared to others like them (for example, Meg's compared to other agoraphobics'). The time involved in the process could be prohibitive. Furthermore, analyzing and transforming only the client's narratives might be just half of the battle against a disorder such as agoraphobia. The authors discussed how William, through his narrative and body language, invalidated Meg's stories, and that her children were also wrapped up in anxiety-oriented narratives. It seems, then, that narrative re-construction would have to take place in all those who interact with the sufferer.

In the epilogue, we learn that Meg is doing somewhat better (and she has begun to take medication). The authors advocate therapists working with clients on their narrative constructions of their disorders. Did Capps do this with Meg? How was the authors' analysis used for Meg's benefit? Did her therapist have

access to the analysis? It would have been helpful to read of the follow-up of Meg's case, particularly because this type of analysis is so innovative.

Finally, there is a larger question as to what Meg's story tells us about gender relations in the United States. Why does Meg feel such helplessness, such powerlessness? The authors note that agoraphobia is much more common among women than men, and that the communication dilemmas shaping agoraphobia are dilemmas that many women face, i.e., an inability to express negative reactions and a tendency to accommodate others at the expense of one's own wishes. Thus agoraphobia is political both as a psychiatric diagnosis and as a predominantly female experience of communication difficulties. So while changing one woman's narrative might help that woman, there still remains the question of how to change women's circumstances, so they would feel better able to express themselves.

No book can address every angle on a particular issue. Particularly because of the pilot nature of this study, I believe this book was meant to raise questions. Capps and Ochs do an admirable job of interweaving psychological and linguistic threads through one woman's narratives of agoraphobia. They stress the importance of looking *at*, rather than *through*, narratives. Discourse and grammar can tell us much about how people create their worlds, and the authors of *Constructing Panic* have provided an excellent and unprecedented model for linguists, therapists, anthropologists, and others who work with people's words in order to understand their lives.

Teaching Pronunciation

A series of booknotes

Marianne Celce-Murcia, Guest Editor
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Those who are genuinely concerned with facilitating the acquisition of oral proficiency in adult second language learners must—directly or indirectly—deal with pronunciation. Research on the oral proficiency of foreign teaching assistants (e.g., Hinofotis & Bailey, 1980) indicates that no matter how high individuals might score on the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), their speech will not be readily comprehensible to native English speakers unless they have reached at least a threshold level in their pronunciation. Their ability to produce appropriate stress and intonation patterns fluently, as well as reasonably accurate sound segments, is what contributes to their attaining at least this pronunciation threshold. In other words, non-native teaching assistants must control English pronunciation at the discourse level to be readily comprehensible.

Ironically, within the Communicative Approach to language teaching, which was developed on the premise that the primary objective of language instruction should be communication, there had been very little attention given to the teaching of pronunciation, that is, until recently. Two volumes edited by Morley (1987, 1994) and a set of more than a dozen pronunciation textbook reviews in the TESOL Quarterly (Samuda, 1993) suggest that there is renewed interest and attention being given to the teaching of pronunciation. These publications also highlight the availability of new classroom material for this purpose.

In Spring 1995 I taught a course in practical phonetics for prospective ESL teachers at UCLA using the above materials and another resource in prepublication form (i.e., Celce-Murcia, Brinton, & Goodwin, 1996). Several of the students in the course chose to write book reviews on pronunciation textbooks or teacher reference books for teaching pronunciation which were not part of, or were published subsequent to, the set of book notices edited by Samuda.

The four reviews below, along with Samuda (1993), provide an overview of materials that are now available for teaching pronunciation in the ESOL classroom. We can only hope that the current spurt of publishing activity will continue since communicatively-based materials for teaching pronunciation are still the exception rather than the rule.

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Pronunciation Pedagogy and Theory: New Views, New Directions by Joan Morley, Ed., TESOL, 1994, vii+199 pp.

Reviewed by Angela Burnett and Yen Ngo

During the last 15 years, there has been an interest in bringing pronunciation teaching into the ESL/EFL curriculum. To highlight this new focus, Joan Morley has selected seven articles for her edited anthology that include informative research and practical teaching suggestions on pronunciation.

The first three articles provide effective methods for teaching pronunciation in the classroom. The first of these is "Pronunciation Assessment in the ESL/EFL Curriculum," by Goodwin, Brinton, and Celce-Murcia. They offer procedures for diagnostic evaluation of perception and production, ongoing evaluation with feedback, including self, peer, and teacher correction, and classroom achievement testing. The second article entitled "Empowering Students With Predictive Skills," by Dickerson, describes his "three Ps"—perception, production and prediction—which are a guide to teachers in helping students set goals for spelling and pronunciation, emphasizing prediction skills which are applicable to every level of proficiency. The last article of this series is Gilbert's "Intonation: A Navigation Guide for the Listener," which suggests practical activities using gadgets such as kazoo's, magnets, and rubberbands for teaching linking, rhythm, and melody.

The remaining four articles focus on research and program development. Esling's article, "Some Perspectives on Accent: Range of Voice Quality Variation, the Periphery, and Focusing," describes and presents research on voice quality as it pertains to pronunciation variations according to age, sex, regional origin, educational background, and occupational history, and provides implications for instruction in the ESL classroom. For the fifth article, Morley includes her own, "A Multidimensional Curriculum Design for Speech-

Pronunciation Instruction," laying out the foundation for the spread of interest in pronunciation pedagogy, and describing in detail the "micro (pronunciation) and macro (communicability)" level approaches of the University of Michigan's "English for Academic Purposes" program. In the sixth article, "Recent Research in L2 Phonology: Implication for Practice," Pennington reviews six areas of research, which confirm the need for teacher training in L2 phonology, and address the effect of habitual behavior on L2 phonological acquisition. The concluding article by Yule and Macdonald, "The Effects of Pronunciation Teaching," discusses the various patterns of improvement or deterioration in L2 pronunciation as a result of different instructional programs. Morley appropriately places this article at the end of her book to help teachers become aware of their own expectations about program implementation, as well as becoming aware of the natural process of teaching pronunciation. The book can be useful for all teachers and researchers interested in L2 pronunciation.

Pronunciation by Christiane Dalton and Barbara Seidlhofer.
Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. xii+191 pp.
Reviewed by Anna M. Guthrie and Sachiko Nishi

In recent years, the increasing emphasis on teaching pronunciation in the ESL/EFL classroom has led to a growing number of texts which either deal solely with pronunciation or include a specific section on teaching pronunciation. But we should ask ourselves some serious axiological and epistemological questions before we begin working with students specifically on pronunciation. This is precisely what this pronunciation reference requires of the reader.

The book, which is divided into three sections, is designed for the ESL professional/practitioner. It is clearly written, with numerous practical suggestions and ideas for classroom activities. The format is one which encourages the reader, through a series of "tasks," to engage in exploration and discovery of aspects of the English sound system as well as the ideas and assumptions underlying one's own pedagogical practices. These tasks, totalling 131 in number, generally invite the teacher to first engage in an exploratory activity, followed by questions for reflecting either on the value and significance of that endeavor itself, or on the principles underlying it.

Section One introduces the main concepts and terminology used in the field, with considerable attention paid to connected speech, stress, rhythm, and intonation. Based on the assumption that the reader already has some familiarity with the English sound system, this section provides an overview of these interrelated aspects of spoken English. Section Two includes numerous examples of classroom activities from a wide variety of the currently available pronunciation texts. Throughout this section, the reader is invited to reflect on those activities, with an eye for assessing and evaluating them. The reader is

asked to consider not only which activities and methodologies he or she deems valuable, but, more importantly, the reasons why this assessment is made. Section Three includes tasks which encourage the reader to test the concepts and ideas from Section One and the activities and methodologies from Section Two against the reality of his or her own classroom situation.

This book seems designed to enable the ESL teacher to integrate his or her knowledge of the English sound system with available materials. The various tasks emphasize the appropriateness of different pedagogical theories and practices for different teachers with different learners. The open ended nature of the tasks provokes the reader to both question and become more aware of his or her underlying assumptions about language teaching and learning, so that texts and materials can be adapted to fit one's assumptions and purposes.

This book is invaluable for encouraging teachers to adopt an analytic perspective. And when teachers engage in this type of critical inquiry, they can be better equipped to provide sound pedagogical planning and informed application of theory to their students.

The Pronunciation Book: Student-Centred Activities for Pronunciation Work by Tim Bowen and Jonathan Marks.
Essex, UK: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992. viii+85 pp.

Reviewed by Zoë Argyres

Authors Tim Bowen and Jonathan Marks have compiled innovative suggestions for teaching pronunciation in their teacher-text, *The Pronunciation Book*. The goal of this volume is to heighten both students' and teachers' awareness that teaching and learning pronunciation are not only feasible but enjoyable. It is intended as a supplement to core texts in a pronunciation or multi-skills course; the activities presented are pronunciation components that may be integrated into larger pronunciation lessons or linked with non-pronunciation activities.

From years of teaching experience in many countries, Bowen and Marks' present pronunciation activities for all learner levels. The authors have meticulously organized the activities with reference to the level(s) for which they are appropriate (elementary through advanced), the focus of the activities, (from phonemes to connected speech), the materials necessary (quite often none or just simple ones), the time needed to complete them (anywhere from "variable" to 45 minutes to "ongoing throughout the class"), and the types of lessons where they may be optimally integrated (recycling vocabulary, relating stress to meaning). This detailed and helpful information is conveniently found both in the table of contents and in the margin next to each activity.

The Pronunciation Book is divided into eight chapters and includes a concise glossary of linguistic terms, a pronunciation table, and a current bibliography of essential English language texts related to pronunciation. It is weighted toward a

segmental approach; phonemic activities occupy chapters one through five. Chapter One covers the basics of sound identification, meant both for the teacher and the student. Chapter Two, "the beginnings of awareness", focuses on sensitizing students to the features of English pronunciation both in perception and production as well as on lowering their inhibitions when speaking a new language. Chapter Three covers the inventory of sounds, Chapter Four presents relationships between sounds and spelling, and Chapter Five, "Sounds in Sequence", is a prelude to the remaining chapters devoted to connected speech. Chapters six through eight emphasize word stress, tone groups, rhythm, intonation, and trouble shooting, in which frequently difficult features are presented.

An effective introductory activity that the authors suggest for pre-beginners is "Radio dial" (Chapter Two). In this exercise, the teacher uses a radio to switch to broadcasts in different languages. The students can begin to describe what makes English sound English. Though commenting on the overall sounds of English seems abstract for pre-beginners, on a more concrete level they can imitate the sounds and contours of the language and accustom themselves to English even before understanding many words. An amusing connected speech activity is the pronunciation role play (Chapter Seven), in which students imitate famous native speakers and discover the necessary adjustments in articulation that must be made. More unusual activities include sculpting and throwing phonemes and chanting vowels Mongolian-style.

Teachers of North American English need only note that the phoneme chart is suited to (British) Received Pronunciation, and must be altered to reflect the American sound system. Otherwise, *The Pronunciation Book* presents a flexible, comprehensive array of "tried and true" activities which allow teachers to supplement lesson plans with creative and practical activities.

Communicating Effectively in English: Oral Communication for Non-Native Speakers (2nd Ed.) by Patricia A. Porter and Margaret Grant. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992. xviii+251 pp.

Reviewed by Joan Stein

Communicating Effectively in English gives advanced non-native English speaking students the opportunity to concentrate on improving their oral communication skills by using a variety of public speaking activities to provide students with oral communication practice. These activities are extremely effective in making students aware of such important aspects of public speaking as organization of presentation, cultural expectations, and levels of formality. In fact, the text deals with some issues of public speaking at a level advanced enough to be used (with some modifications) for native speakers of English who want to improve their public speaking and general communication skills.

Following the basic philosophy that effective communication can evolve only through extensive practice, the text offers students an enormous number of activities (12 per unit on average), even more than in the previous edition of this text. The six units in the second edition of *Communicating Effectively in English* progress from fairly simple speaking/listening activities such as interviewing classmates and then presenting the information obtained to the class (Unit Two) to more complex tasks such as researching a topic in preparation for a class debate (Unit Six). What makes this text especially effective is that in addition to putting students in situations that require them to communicate orally, the units also alert students to the importance of suprasegmental features of communication and such cultural aspects of communication as eye contact, posture, and audience rapport.

The assumption of this text is that students already have some familiarity with pronunciation skills and that they do not need to focus on these skills. If a student has an especially difficult time with a specific feature of pronunciation, extra help is available in the appendix. Although the scope of the appendix is very limited (it discusses rate of speech, pauses and phrase grouping, emphasis, the final *-s* and *-ed* suffixes, and word stress) these aspects of pronunciation are probably most important for students working specifically on public speaking skills.

Communicating Effectively in English is geared for students who have already completed or are concurrently enrolled in a pronunciation class. This text gives students the opportunity to learn skills that are essential to their academic and professional success and to continue to improve their pronunciation.

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